National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. Without Concealment—Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS.

VOL. XII. NO. 25. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1851. WHOLE NO. 597.

Published weekly, on Thursday, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their office, No. 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK. Terms, Two DOLLARS per annum. Printed for the American Anti-Slavery Society, by Norris & Johnston, printers.

The Southern Press.

SUMMERS ON SLAVERY.

EVERY body has heard of the abolition agitation of 1832. Soon after the Southampton tragedy, petitions were presented to the Legislature, by Quakers and other timid or fanatic individuals, praying that some measures might be taken for the abolition of Slavery in the State of Virginia. These petitions, the first of which came from Western Virginia, were referred to a special committee, of which General Brodnax, of Dinwiddie, was made chairman. The committee reported to the House the following resolution: "*Resolved*, as the opinion of this committee, That it is inexpedient, for the present, to make any legislative enactments for the abolition of Slavery." Mr. Preston, of Montgomery, he of the Galphin Cabinet, moved the following resolution as a substitute for the report of the committee: "*Resolved*, as the opinion of this committee, That *it is expedient* to adopt some legislative enactments for the abolition of Slavery." A motion was made that the report of the committee and the amendment of Mr. Preston be indefinitely postponed. GEORGE W. SUMMERS, of Kanawha, voted in the *negative*. The question then recurred upon the amendment proposed by Mr. Preston, and GEORGE W. SUMMERS, of Kanawha, voted in the affirmative; that is, the Whig candidate for the highest office of the State voted that *it was* expedient to adopt some legislative enactments for the abolition of Slavery in Virginia. Mr. Preston's amendment having been defeated, the question recurred upon the original report of the committee, viz: That it was *inexpedient* for the present to adopt any legislative measures for the abolition of Slavery. Against this resolution is recorded the vote of GEORGE W. SUMMERS, of Kanawha. Thus is it seen, that in every shape in which the question of abolition presented itself to the Legislature, it found in GEORGE W. SUMMERS an unshrinking and ardent advocate. But more than this: On the 12th December, 1831, GEORGE W. SUMMERS presented to the Legislature the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the Senate be respectfully requested to cause to be laid before this House a copy of the correspondence which took place in 1801, and subsequently thereto, between James Monroe, then Governor of this Commonwealth, and Thomas Jefferson, then President of the United States, growing out of a resolution of the General Assembly, adopted at the preceding session, by which it was made the duty of the Governor to correspond with the President upon the subject of obtaining, by purchase, lands without the limits of this State, to which persons obnoxious to the laws, *or dangerous to the peace of society*, might be removed.

"Resolved, That the Executive be respectfully requested to cause to be laid before this House such part of the correspondence above alluded to as may remain upon the files of that department."

The persons referred to in the first resolution as *dangerous to the peace of society*, were the *slave population of the State*, and it was expected and intended, by the author of the resolutions, that the correspondence called for would suggest some facilities for the accomplishment of the scheme of abolition. Here we find GEORGE W. SUMMERS anxiously and zealously availing himself of every conceivable device which would contribute to the consummation of abolition. So much for his acts: we come now to

Summers, Speech.

On the 17th January, 1832, GEORGE W. SUMMERS, of Kanawha, delivered before the Legislature of Virginia an oration in support of Preston's resolution, declaring it to be expedient to adopt immediate measures for the abolition of Slavery. This oration was prepared with the utmost care, and some of its many ambitious passages are quite fine. The orator was fully possessed with his subject, and he plead the cause of abolition with that deep earnestness which characterizes the harangues of Sumner. Truly did he say in his exordium that "every feeling of his heart struggled for utterance." In his onset upon Slavery, he was fired with the consuming wrath of a crusade, and in his advocacy of abolition, he was animated with the zeal of a missionary. No wonder that he was eloquent. His speech is a fierce invective against Slavery; he paints in the darkest colours its evils, its *horrors*, and its dangers; he maintains the imperative necessity of its abolition; he asserts the right of the Legislature to abolish Slavery without compensating the owner, and he claims that Congress has the power, and is impelled by duty to lend the aid of the Federal Government to the consummation of the great end of abolition. But a just impression of Summers' views of Slavery and abolition can be conveyed only by his own language. We therefore invite the reader's attention to the following "elegant extracts" from the speech of Mr. Summers, of Kanawha, delivered in the House of Delegates on the 17th January, 1832:

The Evils of Slavery.

"As a question of political economy, the removal of the slave population is justified, nay *imperiously recommended*." "The slaves are a dangerous property, and therefore do not contribute to the real and proper wealth of the community." "A slave population exercises the most pernicious influence upon the manners, habits and characters of those among whom it exists. Lisping infancy learns the vocabulary of abusive epithets, and struts the embryo tyrant of its little domain. When in the sublime lessons of christianity he is taught to do unto others as he would that they should do unto him, he never dreams that the degraded negro is within the pale of that holy canon."

This is pretty strong. It is almost impossible to believe it to be the production of a latitude south of Syracuse. But the master is not only a tyrant and a monster; he is also a profligate.

"Habits of idleness, and their usual accompaniment, dissipation, are seldom avoided in a slaveholding community."

Yet, this *tyrannical* and *dissipated* slaveholding community are now invited to vote for the man who thus denounced them! Again:

"Those whom interest or want would prompt to industry, rarely find employment in a dense slaveholding community. Penury and wretchedness await them, or the abandonment of their native land, and the humble graves of their kindred, to seek in a distant country and among strangers that which their own had denied them." "Slavery tends to diffuse ignorance among those more immediately in contact with it." "Where Slavery prevails, the spirit of free inquiry and adventurous enterprise is much repressed. The difference is manifest between the Eastern and Western parts of this Commonwealth." "Slaves add nothing to the PHYSICAL strength of the country—they contribute naught to its glory or its defence." "The gentleman from Brunswick (Mr. Gholson) remarked that the condition of our State had heretofore been accounted for in a failure to develope her resources by a judicious system of Internal Improvement. But, sir, where is the source of that failure? It is found in the existence of a large slave population and slave interest. It is but one of the legitimate effects of that original primary cause which stands out in bold relief *the fountain of* ALL *our ills*." "But, sir, the evils of this system (Slavery) cannot be enumerated. It were unnecessary to attempt it. They glare upon us at every step. When the statesman examines the condition of his country and finds her moral influence gone, her physical strength diminished, her political power waning, he sees and must confess them. They may be viewed written on a nation's map."

Such, in the opinion of George W. Summers, is the institution of Slavery—such its evils and its enormities. Regarding Slavery in this light, of course he must deprecate its increase in Western Virginia, and must earnestly advocate its total extinction.

No Slavery in Western Virginia.

"It is true that the people of the West, in addition to the general concern which they felt in this great question (of Abolition), have peculiar interests of their own, which if their representatives fail to regard, they abuse the high trust with which they are clothed, and become the unworthy depositories of the public confidence. We are now comparatively free from Slavery, and we are impelled by every consideration of duty to ourselves and to those who shall come after us, to avert, if we can, the progress of the evil. * * * * We see that Western Virginia must necessarily become a slaveholding community, not from choice, but from inability to prevent it. We do not take the *disease* voluntarily, but by infection, from our proximity to, and connection with, you (Eastern Virginia). We can erect no barrier to its approach. We can establish not even a QUARANTINE. You (Eastern Virginia) will enact for us no statute by which the transportation of this population to the Western counties would be forbidden. Did the country lying west of the Blue Ridge compose a separate and independent State, she could annihilate this evil at a blow. We of the West do not desire to see our mountains *blackened* with the slave, or that the fresh grass of our valleys should *wither* beneath his tread.

But the abolition designs of the orator are not confined to the limits of Western Virginia; he would have Slavery extinguished throughout the entire State.

Advocates a speedy and general abolition of Slavery.

"But, sir, it is not only as a Western man, mindful only of the interests of that portion of the State from which I come, that I feel myself bound to vote against the report of the select committee (declaring it to be inexpedient to abolish Slavery). As a Virginian and a legislator, bound by the *highest moral obligation and my official oath*, to promote the prosperity and happiness of the whole commonwealth, I can with the best exercise of my poor judgment, *in no other mode* discharge the duties which I owe *to my conscience and to my country*, than by solemnly declaring by the vote I shall give, *the deliberate conviction of my mind*, that *it is* expedient to act in relation to this momentous subject, and to act *promptly and efficiently*."

This is a pregnant paragraph. The slaveholder should read it with the deepest attention. By it, what does the Whig candidate for the office of Governor of Virginia declare? First, that he is bound by the HIGHEST MORAL OBLIGATION, AND HIS OFFICIAL OATH TO PROMOTE THE PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS OF THE WHOLE COMMONWEALTH, to vote for the abolition of Slavery! Secondly, that he cannot discharge the duties which he owes his COUNTRY and his CONSCIENCE, except by voting for the abolition of Slavery! Thirdly, that this is not the result of a momentary impulse, but it is the DELIBERATE CONVICTION OF HIS JUDGMENT! Fourthly, that it is expedient to act in the matter PROMPTLY and EFFICIENTLY. Can a man entertaining these opinions be safely entrusted by a slaveholding people with the destinies of the State? But he says further:

"Can that gentleman (Gen. Brodnax) content himself with the slow remedies of the scheme (of abolition) which he himself has suggested?" "Gentlemen say that this is not the proper time to begin the great work of gradual and final emancipation—that it is a subject of the utmost delicacy and beset with innumerable difficulties—that we are not *now* able to accomplish the Herculean task. But will these gentlemen inform us (the Abolitionists) when it is to become less delicate or attended with fewer difficulties, and at what period we shall be better able to meet them? Like silly children, we endeavour to postpone the work which we know must be performed—we close our eyes and attempt to forget it—we turn from it as hopeless without essaying to begin it. It is the frailty of our nature, it is the same spirit which said, 'go thy way, at a more convenient season, I will call upon thee.'" "*We*, by our timely efforts, may effect the consummation so devoutly to be wished for (that is, the abolition of Slavery); *posterity* never can." "And, sir, will after ages complain of the deprivation? No. Save them from the wretched inheritance (Slavery), and your children's children will 'rise up and call you blessed.'" "Sir, we should take encouragement from the goodness of the cause in which we are engaged. It is one on which heaven will smile. We shall not be left unaided in our exertions." "Mr. Speaker, I can not take my seat without expressing my full and decided conviction (wherein he was mistaken), that the efforts now making to lay the foundation for the ultimate and total abolition of Slavery within this Commonwealth, will be crowned with triumphant success. * * * When we parted at the close of the last session, who would have predicted the events which have taken place here within the past week? I had not hoped that the opportunity would have been so soon furnished, to register by my vote in the Halls of my native State THE LONG CHERISHED WISHES OF MY MIND. But silence is forever broken. Any attempt to restrain the freest enquiry now, were vain and idle—as well might you attempt to imprison the chainless winds." "Sir, our present attitude is worthy of the Commonwealth, and of the age. It is proper that Virginia should lead the van in this splendid enterprise (of abolition) so interesting to the happiness of the country and the human family."

In the ardent advocacy of abolition, the orator encounters no difficulty which he cannot sweep away. If it be contended that the scheme of abolition is impracticable, that the State is inadequate to the Herculean undertaking, he replies that:

The General Government can aid the State in abolishing Slavery.

"Slavery is a *national* calamity. Such it has been regarded by those who are entirely free from the evil. The gentleman from Albermarle (Mr. Wood) himself admits, that Congress may constitutionally aid in the removal of our coloured population, by appropriations from the public lands. If sir, we may lawfully receive assistance from this source, we may from the Treasury, or any other of the resources of the General Government. I would remind the gentleman of another clause of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress to provide for the *common defence and general welfare*."

If it be objected to the scheme of abolition that it takes private property for public uses, without compensation to the owner, he removes even this obstacle, in a summary manner:

"That private property shall not be taken for public uses, without just compensation, is one of the terms of the social covenant; but it is a stipulation subject to this original continuing right, in those who are parties to that covenant, if the representatives of the people believing that the vital interests of the Commonwealth require that the slaves be removed from among us, should adopt measures to secure that end, *without providing remuneration to the owner*, would it be a violation of the meaning and spirit of that clause of the Constitution, so much relied on by the other side? Does the citizen lose his property without just compensation, when he surrenders it to the necessities of the community of which he is a member, and when the happiness and continuance of that community depends upon the surrender? When the tax-gatherer takes from the pocket of the citizen the revenue which is to support the operations of Government, what is the 'compensation' which he receives for his contribution? The general prosperity of that government which enables it to protect him in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This, sir, is the only compensation. *It is a full and adequate one.*"

Mark how, in order to facilitate his project of abolition, George W. Summers quibbles away the most conservative and inviolable safeguard of the rights and property of the citizen. Talk of *guarantees* restraining this man! But he goes farther, and attacks the property of the master in his slave.

"The slave is made property, not by *natural* right in him who makes him such. Men are made slaves only by *force and necessity*, and they are retained such only by *force and necessity*. Slaves are made property in Virginia by statutory provision." "The right by which we hold our slaves is the right of force, and our property is founded in *wrong, outrage, and injustice*." "It will not be denied that the slave, as a living man, has *a right to assert and regain his liberty if he can*. He has a right to direct and control his own actions, a right never surrendered and never alienated—a right paramount to all conventional guaranties or civil compacts."

Will the people believe that such language was spoken in Virginia? Had it fallen from the lips of a *Yankee*, it would have subjected him to an indictment for sedition. Is it possible that any man durst proclaim to our slaves that they have A RIGHT TO ASSERT AND REGAIN THEIR LIBERTY IF THEY CAN? People of Virginia, this insurrectionary language was spoken by GEORGE W. SUMMERS. If elected Governor of Virginia, would he, in the event of a disturbance among our servile population, exert the Executive force to repress the exercise of a right which he here asserts and maintains? But,

Summers labours to excite the prejudice of the non-slaveholder against the master.

"At all times the *Non*-slaveholders of Virginia are subjected to the most outrageous injuries by the presence of this population. To prevent, as far as may be, the mischiefs of insubordination, police laws have, from time to time, been enacted—the execution of which, for the most part, is thrown upon those who themselves own none of this property. In the character of PATROLS the non-slaveholders are made to perform onerous and disagreeable duties; not to protect *themselves* and *their* property, but to protect the master in the enjoyment of that which it is to the interest of the non-slaveholder should not exist. He is thus made to fold to his own bosom and protect this adder which stings him."

The orator denounces the law which prohibits instruction to the slave

"It has been the policy of these laws to close every avenue of knowledge to the wretched negro—to extinguish that little spark which glimmers even in his bosom, and which ages of degradation have not wholly destroyed. In what light these provisions of our code shall be viewed in after time, is a matter of curious reflection, I fear it may possibly be found in the researches of some learned antiquary, and become a portion of his evidence to prove the barbarism of the present enlightened and Christian era."

Lament over the slave.

"The promulgation of the great truths contained in the Bill of Rights were not intended to disturb the condition of the Virginia slave—he was to have no lot nor part in the glorious achievements of the revolution—at its close the fetters did not fall from his limbs, nor was the livery of servitude exchanged for the robes of freedom."

Such is the abolition harrangue of GEORGE W. SUMMERS. It is unnecessarry for us to append any comments. We submit to the people of Virginia, these higher-law views of Slavery and abolition, which are entertained by the Whig candidate for the chief executive office of the State, and we ask them if they deem it safe to entrust their interests to such as he.—*South-Side* (Va.) *Democrat.*

ANTI-SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

AFTER nearly two weeks of "chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancies" suggested by our editorial of the 9th inst., setting forth some of the causes of the defeat of the Southern Rights party in Georgia, and the very large vote received by Mr. Cobb, the *Chronicle and Sentinel* comes out with a general denial of our assertion that there exists "*a very considerable Anti-Slavery party in our midst.*" One specific fact is adduced to disprove this assertion—to wit: that "of the 30 counties containing the largest slave population in Georgia, 25 gave majorities to Mr. Cobb."

This proof is very inconclusive in face of the facts which no doubt exist, that the slaveholders are in a minority in those very counties. Did a majority of the slaveholders in those counties vote for Mr. Cobb? If this fact could be established, it would be of some avail to the *Chronicle and Sentinel*. But we have no doubt that in most of those very counties a majority of the slaveholders voted for Gov. McDonald. We dare say if the means existed to ascertain the vote, this would be found to be the fact in every county in the State, with the exception of a very few strong Whig counties in middle Georgia, where the Whigs went almost *en masse* for Mr. Cobb irrespective of the Slavery question.

On the other hand in nearly all those counties where slaves are fewest in proportion to the white population, we find that Mr. Cobb gets majorities, and in most of them his heaviest majorities, notwithstanding the presumption, judging from past political affinities, that those counties would have voted for Gov. McDonald. The coalition of Mr. Cobb with the Whig leaders, by means of which he got the mass of the Whig vote in Georgia, and their joint coalition with the Fillmore and Webster portion of the National Whig party, with a view to create a National Union party, the programme of which was put forth at Milledgeville, in December, 1850, were not calculated to give Mr. Cobb strength in those counties. We have given the true solution of the extraordinary vote which Mr. Cobb received.

Our article of the 9th inst. was not hastily written. It set forth the deliberate opinions of the writer, and those opinions have met with the concurrence of every Southern Rights man with whom we have since conversed, and of a number from whom we have received letters. They are confirmed by distinct facts communicated to us, where persons avowed that they were opposed to Slavery, and voted accordingly against the Southern Rights candidates, viewing the question as a contest between the Union and Slavery. In some portions of Georgia, *the evils* of Slavery constituted a theme of common discussion, and the position is openly taken in conversation, that Slavery is a disadvantage to the poor white man. We apprehend few who have travelled much in the State will deny this. Others not taking such extreme ground, yet urge that the poor non-slaveholder is not benefitted by Slavery, and therefore has not a personal interest to preserve it at the hazard of disunion and civil war.

It will not be denied that some of the candidates of the Constitutional Union party have laboured under the grave charge of entertaining and uttering Anti-Slavery opinions, and the belief was, and is honestly entertained by their opponents, that they are unsound on the Slavery question. Yet so far from this proving an obstacle to the success of their candidates, they have been elected by unprecedented majorities—by majorities which even took their own friends by surprise.

The election of James Johnson, Esq., to Congress, in the 2d District, in the face of Mr. James T. Flewellyn's uncontradicted statement of Mr. Johnson's opinions, corroborated in part by those of Mr. Chambers, Mr. J. H. Howard and Gen. Semmes, is proof at least that opposition to Slavery was no impediment to success in the ranks of that party.

We quote the following from Mr. Flewellyn's letter, of the 13th September, to Mr. Forsyth, and published in the Columbus *Times*, and copied by other papers before the election:

"The following are the opinions which Mr. Johnson has repeatedly advocated in conversations with myself:

1. That Congress had absolute and unlimited power of legislation over the District of Columbia—the right to *abolish Slavery*, or to do any thing else it might deem proper; that there was no limitation to its right of jurisdiction.

2. That Congress had *supreme* power over all the Territories, Dock Yards, Navy Yards, Arsenals and Forts—the power to prohibit Slavery therein, or to dispose of them to any foreign power.

3. That Slavery was a *political evil*. Mr. Johnson, in repeated discussions with myself, upon a lecture delivered by Mr. Fisher, of Cincinnati, Ohio, two years since, held that Slavery was a political evil—that the influences growing out of the institution of Slavery, were the true cause of the Southern States being so deficient in those elements of wealth and prosperity which characterized the North.

4. That Slavery was a *social evil*. Mr. Johnson, eighteen months since, disposed of his Law business to myself, on the ground that he designed moving to a FREE State, where it was *honourable to labour*—that Slavery at the South was *degrading to labour*, and he desired to move from its contaminating influences."

Nor do we conceive the repeated election of Mr. A. H. Stephens, in the face of the following declaration in his Texas annexation speech in Congress in 1845, devoid of evidence of the existence of Anti-Slavery elements in our midst:

"This acquisition will give additional power to the South Western section in the national councils, and for this purpose I want it. Not that I am desirous to see an extension of "the area of Slavery," as some gentlemen have said its effects would be. I am no defender of Slavery in the abstract. Liberty always had charms for me, and I would rejoice to see all of Adam's family, in every land and clime, in the enjoyment of those rights which are set forth in our Declaration of Independence as natural and inalienable, if a stern necessity, bearing the mark and impress of the Creator himself, did not, in some cases, interpose and prevent. Such is the case with the States where Slavery now exists. But I have no wish to see it extended to other countries; and if the annexation of Texas was for the sole purpose of extending Slavery where it does not now, and would not otherwise exist, I would oppose it!"

But Constitutional Unionism, and the elements which go to give it strength, are not different in one Southern State from what they are in another. The old Whig party of Virginia has become converted into a Constitutional Union party, and it is under the new name and the humbug cry of Union, it is trying to defeat the Democracy in Virginia. Hopeless of overthrowing that staunch old State rights party which has been uniformly triumphant in the old mother of States and of statesmen, upon the legitimate issues of Democracy and Federalism, it fraudulently aims to stigmatize the Democracy as a Disunion party, as desiring to dissolve the Union on account of Slavery. And what is one of their first steps for success? The nomination of an Anti-Slavery man as a candidate for Governor, in opposition to Governor Johnson, the Democratic candidate.

Who is this Constitutional Union candidate? GEORGE W. SUMMERS. He is from western Virginia—the stronghold of Anti-Slavery in that State. One motive of his nomination no doubt was to get the benefit of the heavy Anti-Slavery vote in that section.

We will give a few extracts from a speech made by this gentleman January 17th, 1832, upon the resolutions laid before the Legislature of Virginia for the immediate abolition of Slavery. The sentiments contained in them have never been recanted; on the contrary, Mr. Summers, in the late Reform Convention of Virginia, said he had nothing to retract on the subject.

"As a question of political economy, the removal of the slave population is justified, nay *imperiously recommended*." "The slaves are a dangerous property, and therefore do not contribute to the real and proper wealth of the community." "A slave population exercises the most pernicious influence upon the manners, habits and characters of those among whom it exists. Lisping infancy learns the vocabulary of abusive epithets, and struts the embryo tyrant of its little domain. When in the sublime lessons of Christianity, he is taught to do unto others as he would that they should do unto him, he never dreams that the degraded negro is within the pale of that holy canon."

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"But, sir, it is not only as a Western man, mindful only of the interests of that portion of the State from which I come, that I feel myself bound to vote against the report of the select committee (declaring it inexpedient to abolish Slavery). As a Virginian and a Legislator, bound by the *highest moral obligation and my official oath*, to promote the prosperity and happiness of the whole commonwealth, I can with the best exercise of my poor judgment, *in no other mode* discharge the duties which I owe *to my conscience and to my country*, than by solemnly declaring by the vote I shall give, *the deliberate conviction of my mind* that *it is* expedient to act in relation to this momentous subject, and to act *promptly and efficiently*."

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"Slavery is a *national* calamity. Such it has been regarded by those who are entirely free from the evil. The gentleman from Albemarle (Mr Wood) himself admits, that Congress may constitutionally aid in the removal of our coloured population, by appropriations from the public lands. If, sir, we may lawfully receive assistance from this source, we may from the Treasury, or any other of the resources of the general government. I would remind the gentleman, too, of another clause of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress to provide for the *common defence and general welfare*."

* * * *

"It is true that the people of the West, in addition to the general concern which they felt in this great question (of abolition), have peculiar interests of their own, which, if their representatives fail to regard, they abuse the high trust with which they are clothed, and become the unworthy depositories of the public confidence. We are now comparatively free from Slavery, and we are impelled by every consideration of duty to ourselves and to those who shall come after us, to avert, if we can, the progress of the evil. * * * We see that Western Virginia must necessarily become a slaveholding community, not from choice, but from inability to prevent it. We do not take the *disease* voluntarily, but by infection, from our proximity to, and connection with, you (Eastern Virginia). We can erect no barrier to its approach. We can establish not even a QUARANTINE. You (Eastern Virginia) will enact for us no statute by which the transportation of this population to the Western counties would be forbidden. Did the country lying west of the Blue Ridge compose a separate and independent State, she could annihilate this evil at a blow. We of the West do not desire to see our mountains *blackened* with the slave, or that the fresh grass of our valleys should *wither* beneath his tread."

"At all times the *non*-slaveholders of Virginia are subjected to the most outrageous injuries by the presence of this population. To prevent, as far as may be, the mischiefs of insubordination, police laws have, from time to time, been enacted—the execution of which, for the most part, is thrown upon those who themselves own none of this property. In the character of Patrols the non-slaveholders are made to perform onerous and disagreeable duties; not to protect *themselves* and *their* property, but to protect the master in the enjoyment of that which it is to the interest of the non-slaveholder should not exist. He is thus made to fold to his own bosom and protect this adder which stings him."

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These extracts are fruitful themes of comment. But we leave our readers to such reflections as they must suggest. If this is not red-mouthed Abolitionism, then we do not understand the term.

When men holding such sentiments can be run for the highest offices in Southern States, and with hopes of success, against a party which on legitimate party issues could not possibly be defeated, who will say that our comments on this unpleasant topic should excite the astonishment of our readers. That they will arouse indignation in some quarters, is not very surprising, for truth sometimes has this effect.

We make no charge of Anti-Slavery opinions having ever been uttered or entertained by Mr. Cobb; nor do we insinuate that he is in any way unsound upon the question. The only stabs of this character he has ever received from the public press of Georgia has been administed by the papers which, in the late canvass, were his supporters; conspicuous among which was the Savannah *Republican*. Nor did we insinuate that Anti-Slavery sentiments, or opposition to the institution, preponderated in the party that supported him. But that Anti-Slavery elements did enter into the canvass, and that the Constitutional Union party got the full benefit of their influence, so far as they went, we did assert and now reiterate.

The danger to the institution of Slavery is not from the statement of the existence of Anti-Slavery elements in our midst—the danger is from the fact, if it exists. If the statement be true, then the danger is certainly not diminished by shutting our eyes to it, denying its existence, and asserting that all's well.—*Augusta* (*Ga.*) *Constitutionalist.*

Selections.

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, AT SYRACUSE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: We have not come here to array ourselves against the government of our country; but to denounce a most tyrannous act of our government. We have come to speak as freemen may, and freemen should, against high-handed oppression, execrable cruelty; and if we are not allowed to do this, what advantage is there in being freemen? We have not come to set our feet upon law. We have not come here to declare our independence of the State of the Confederacy to which we belong; but to declare that neither our State nor our Confederacy is independent of God, independent of the obligation that is upon all men "to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly." We have not come to countenance our fellow-citizens of this city and country, in trampling upon the majesty of law; but to say what we think and feel of their having lifted the iron heel of a mean and cruel despotism from the neck of a poor fellow being. We have not come to insult our Chief Magistrate, and the Legislators of our land; but to admonish them that even they cannot with impunity set God at defiance, and may not compel us to insult him. God is King of kings and Governor of governors, Ruler of rulers. "God is love." "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore *love is the fulfilling of law*."

The first and greatest of all commandments is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." On these two commandments hang, from them depend—that is, with them must be consistent all laws, which should have or can have any binding obligation upon the consciences of good men. Only such laws as may be deduced from these commandments have any divine authority."

Only by a general obedience to these shall ever be brought on that happy state of the world, so glowingly depicted by the Hebrew Prophets, and the hopeful of other nations, when there shall be no more oppression, nor violence, nor wrong.

To arouse, guide and strengthen men to keep these commandments more perfectly at all times, at any hazard of property, of reputation, and even of life, was the great end and aim of the ministry, of the life, and of the death of Jesus Christ.

Now if, as we believe, the authority of Jesus Christ was divine; if he was sanctified and sent into the world by God, to declare unto individuals and nations the principles of true righteousness; and by the power of his truth to make them free from sin and death, then it is obvious that there can be no power on earth that is authorized to contravene and set at naught his commandments. It used to be claimed and allowed throughout Christendom, as elsewhere, that kings reigned by a divine right, and that subjects were bound to obey them in all things, as the vicegerents of the Almighty. But that assumption has subsided in every part of the christian world; and in our country it is repudiated utterly. Here it was laid down by the founders of our Republic as a fundamental principle, that all the powers of a just government are derived from, must have been delegated by, the governed. Now then, the governed cannot commit to their officials any right, any authority, which they do not themselves possess. The governed possess no right, they have no authority to disobey the commandments of God, therefore the government can receive no authority to require any unrighteousness.

This proposition will commend itself to you as incontrovertibly true, when you consider the significant fact, that the two greatest commandments of Christ were laid upon man, not as a party to any civil compact, or as a constituent of any social arrangement, but upon man as *an individual*—a being sustaining such relations, on the one hand, to God who made him, and, on the other hand, to those fellow beings whom the Creator has made like him, as do obviously, naturally give rise to the two classes of obligations, imposed in these two seminal, all comprehensive precepts. In each case Jesus speaks to the individual; and he appeals to the very nature of every human being, on which rests the obligations to feel and do what he here enjoins.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God *with all thy heart*, i. e. the affections which glow in thy bosom, welling up as they do from a fountain which God alone supplies, ought to rise in their regards, until they shall be fixed supremely upon Him, who is love, and the source of all that is lovely.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all *thy mind*, i. e. that intelligence, which the Creator has bestowed upon thee, should seek after Him who inspired it, the knowledge of whom alone is true wisdom.

Thou shalt love Him with all *thy strength*, i. e. all thy activities should be guided by the highest wisdom and animated by the purest, best affections, that may be developed within thee.

So, too, as it respects thy fellow-being, between whom and thyself there is a mutual dependence, who has faculties, feelings, hopes, fears, infirmities, wants, like thine own—it must be obvious that he is thy brother. Thou shouldst therefore love and treat him as such. The best of all rules, by which to govern your conduct towards a fellow man is, do unto him just what you would that he should do unto you. Can there be a rational and moral being who does not see at a glance that a general obedience to these commands would promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind in the highest.

Let me here add, that the obligation to obey these commandments does not rest merely upon the authority of him in whose words we have received them; so that they are not exempt who deny Christ. These principles of moral conduct were inculcated by Jesus Christ, because they were right. The obligation to conform to them arose then, and arises now, from that moral constitution which God instituted, and of which Jesus Christ was the best expounder—a constitution not written upon parchment, but upon the living tables of the human heart; a constitution of course much more ancient, venerable, sacred than any which men have devised for national purposes. We are not therefore to wait until the civil government, under which we live, shall see fit to reenact these laws, before we acknowledge our obligation to obey them. Individuals generally have to precede nations in their conformity to God's will, often through much persecution and suffering.—These are the benefactors of men, the lights of the world, the leaders of reform. Every one, when he comes to know himself, and his relations to other beings, will see that these great commandments are founded in eternal righteousness. If there be any man who does not discern the propriety of these commandments—if he does not recognise the obligations which they would enforce—if these have not become self-evident to him, matters of consciousness to his moral sense—it must be because his intellectual and moral nature is undeveloped. He needs education, culture. And the greatest concern of society should be, to see that its constituents are so enlightened and cultivated, that they shall be at least not ignorant of *the first principles of right and wrong*.

Those rulers are not such as God approves, and we should respect, who aim merely to exact from their subjects a blind obedience to their own authority; instead of encouraging and assisting them to discern the things that are right, and to do them because they are right. Much less are those rulers ordained of God, who prescribe what they know to be *not right*, but only, as they think profitable or expedient for the time being, or accordant with an iniquitous compact,—and then set about to compel their subjects to obey such laws, however they may violate their consciences, and outrage their feelings. To compel any man to do wrong, is to compel him to set his own moral nature at naught, which is to do himself the greatest harm. If the subject consents to this, he sins—nay—he sets God at defiance; and chooses to serve Baal, or Moloch, or Mammon instead.

Unless, then, there be an authority higher than that of God, the Creator of man—an authority, too, capable of making wrong right—there can be, as Jesus said, no commandments greater than these, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;" and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Surely no commandments less than these, most certainly none that contravene these, can have a just claim to our obedience.

Nevertheless, it has been assumed by many, and, since September, 1850, has been stoutly maintained by some from whom we should have expected better things, that a law of the land, although it be contrary to these two great commandments, although it require of us most unrighteous and cruel acts towards our neighbours, and although Congress may be very censurable for enacting it, ought to be obeyed, *because it is a law*; and because, if we do not obey, the authority of our rulers will be stricken down, and our civil fabric fall to pieces. It seems to me that all this is predicated upon a very false assumption of the true province of law; an erroneous view of the source of governmental powers; and of the extent of each individual's obligations to the kingdom or state in which he may happen to live.

Mistakes on these points are unpardonable in the prominent men of our country, because the truth on these points was seen so clearly, and declared so emphatically by the venerated fathers of our civil institutions. Those world renowned men, who, seventy-six years ago, dared to renounce their allegiance to the British crown, and to establish new governments for their several States, and for the confederacy, did so in virtue of "the *self-evident truths*, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That *to secure these rights* governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Men were not made that they may be the subjects of an oppressive political compact called a Republic, any more than they were made to be the creatures of a despot. Men were not made for governments, but governments were made for men.

I wish particularly to fix your attention upon the latter part of the above quotation from the Declaration of Independence. It declares the legitimate object for which governments are instituted to be to secure to all men their unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that they derive their just powers to do this from the consent of the governed.

In the light of this declaration, then, all may see, and with its most weighty sanction we may confidently affirm, that all attempts to make a law, which violates these unalienable rights of men, must be virtually abortive; and all attempts to enforce such a law may be denounced as oppression, cruelty. If an individual king should do this, we should brand him a tyrant; and the character of the act is not any better because done by a majority. It matters not how large the majority may be in its favour, if the enactment be designed and adapted to deprive one man of his unalienable rights, the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it cannot become a legitimate law, a law that should lay any binding obligation upon the consciences of good men. They would be guilty in the sight of God, if they should assist to enforce it, nay, if they do not endeavour to prevent its being enforced. An oppressive, cruel law can derive no just power from the consent of the governed. Those whom the enactment may be intended to favour can have no right to give their consent to it, if it be iniquitous; and those whom it would deprive of any of the blessings of life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness, of course cannot be expected to consent to it. Indeed if they did, their consent would be morally invalid; because men have no more power to alienate their own inalienable rights, than others have authority to take those rights away. A man could no more be justified in voluntarily surrendering his liberty at the command of a tyrant, or a tyrannical majority, than he would be justified in taking away his own life in obedience to a mandate from the same quarter. The rights to life, to liberty, to happiness, are not mere kindly gifts of a generous Creator, which we may take, or wantonly toss back to Him as we please. We may not, without sin, trample them under our own feet; neither are we at liberty to cast these most precious pearls before swine. No—they are sacred trusts, for which we are accountable; for in the use of them alone can we develope the nature God has given us, and become what he made us to be. "'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower of fleeting life its lustre and perfume; and we are weeds without it." We cannot, without great wickedness, give up our own liberty; and it is the greatest of all wrongs to take away the liberty of others.

The defenders of the new doctrine, 'that we are bound to obey a command of our government, however oppressive, tyrannical, atrocious it may be, because the government is the supreme authority,' I say, the defenders of this new doctrine, new certainly in our country, and worthy only of the sycophants of an eastern despot—these defenders of tyranny, whether honourable statesmen or reverend divines, must have shut their eyes to the glorious light in which our nation was born; or they must have been utterly blinded by fears which selfish speculators and designing politicians have contrived to awaken in the public mind.

Surely distinguished ministers of the Gospel should have known better than to teach that any emergency could warrant the terrible unrighteousness which the Fugitive Slave Bill proposes. The fact that so many of the Doctors of Divinity of different denominations have earnestly advocated obedience to this law, only shows how wid

the social and domestic relations they may form, and outraging the parental, conjugal, filial and fraternal affections, which their Creator implanted in their bosoms; and demanding of all "good citizens" to assist the agents of government to enforce any law, which might be deemed necessary to effect this most atrocious purpose; I say, if this distinguished divine really does believe that God has given his sanction to such a government, and requires him to violate the best feelings of his heart in obedience to the behests of such a government; if Dr. Dewey really does believe this, why then is he to be commended for the devotion, the spirit of self-sacrifice, in which he would go about to do the terrible duty imposed upon him; yes, he is to be commended just as much as the devoted of Juggernaut is to be commended when he throws himself before the wheels of the Idol's car, in the assurance that such self abandonment will be acceptable to his God. I do not object to the rhetoric in which Dr. Dewey has seen fit to clothe his conviction that "this law" ought to be obeyed. If a man be fully persuaded that any thing is his duty, I would have him endeavour to do it with his might, though it may require him to cut off a right hand, or pluck out a right eye, or submit himself to be hanged, or to yield up his wife, his daughter, or his mother to torment and pollution. I would have him do his duty at any cost; and in my weakness I will pray that I may have strength given me to do what I believe to be my duty, with all the determination which the Doctor has expressed regarding his own.

O no! O no! it is not his rhetoric that astonishes, that shocks me! But that a man who is so familiar with the history of the world, and knows so well that all social, as well as religious, improvements have been made under the inspiring influence of individuals, who have dared to *disobey* the unrighteous mandates of men in power; that a man so well acquainted with the largest and purest minds that have lived, and with what they left as the best conclusions of human wisdom, regarding the true intention and just powers of civil government—that a man who has gone so thoroughly as Dr. D. has into the study of human nature, done so much to raise his contemporaries from the imbecility of "implicit faith" and "implicit obedience," has contended so nobly for the independency of the individual soul, and has emancipated himself so far from spiritual thraldom—that a man who has studied so profoundly, and expounded so wisely the Sacred Scriptures, in which the choicest lessons of wisdom and virtue are given in the sketches they contain of the lives of noble men and women, who, in successive ages, have withstood principalities and powers, rather than do what they believed to be contrary to the will of God—that such a man should for a moment believe that an enactment of any government on earth enjoining upon one portion of its subjects the utter violation of the unalienable rights of another portion, could have the sanction of the impartial Father of the whole human family—that God could require, or be well pleased with, his or my obedience to such a law—this, I confess, does astonish me That Dr. Dewey should believe that our political fathers could make a compromise, involving this tremendous wickedness, and themselves be bound one hour by such an agreement; much more, that they could transmit to their posterity of this day an obligation more binding than "the law of God" to keep such a compact, this does confound me. And that he should intimate, that the glory of our Republic, or its real welfare, or its preservation even can be promoted by our obedience to such a law—this, I confess, fills me with astonishment. I cannot account for it. I know not how to trace this moral obscuration to any angel of wisdom or love that has veiled his sight. Let him, and those other Doctors of Divinity who have come forward, in this hour of our country's trial, to confound judgment, to blunt the public sense of right, to sear the public conscience, and harden the hearts of the people—let them, I say, explain and justify themselves, as best they can to God and to a near posterity. I can think of no adequate apology for ministers of the Gospel, who have so put darkness for light. I must condemn utterly their doctrine, that we ought *sometimes, even now, to obey man rather than God*; or the doctrine that *God does sometimes, even now, command or sanction unrighteousness.*

This is a doctrine which would throw distrust over the moral government of the world, and lead men directly to Atheism. It is a doctrine that would cast censure upon the noble army of martyrs, both political and religious, whose blood has been the seed of the highest improvements in Church and State; it would condemn the prophets of the Old Testament, the Apostles of the New, and Jesus Christ himself. These all set at naught the commandments of Princes, Governors, Kings, because they required things which were wrong, contrary to the will of God.

This doctrine of our High Priests, that the enactments of those in power over us, until repealed, have the sanction of Almighty God, *however much they may infringe upon the rights of man*, and ought to be obeyed—this doctrine now broached by some of the distinguished statesmen of our country, and enforced by some of our most eminent divines, contradicts not only "the Declaration of Independence," but the fundamental principles of human legislation, and of civil government, as laid down by those who are acknowledged to be the masters of this subject.

Lord Coke declares that "the common law doth control Acts of Parliament, and *adjudge them void*, when they are against common right and reason."

Sir William Blackstone, laid down the same principle even more broadly, and recurs to it repeatedly. "The law of nature," he says, "being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is, of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original." * * * "If any human law should allow or enjoin us to commit murder, we are bound to transgress that human law or else we must offend both the natural and the divine law."

Again, this great legal authority says, "Those rights which God and nature have established, and are therefore called *natural rights*, such as are life and liberty, need not the aid of human law, to be more effectually invested in men than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the man shall himself commit some act that amounts to a forfeiture." More might be quoted from him to the same effect.

Lord Bacon says, "as the common law is more worthy than the statute law, so the law of nature is more worthy than them both."

Lord Brougham also says, "There is a law *above all human enactments*, written by the finger of God, on the heart of man."

Chief Justice Parsons, one of the brightest lights of legal science in our country, used often to say, "Gentlemen, what what is right, what is right, for that is law, or we must make it so."

The same principle also is laid down distinctly, and often appealed to, in the writings of our own Chancellor Kent, than whom we have no higher authority on the theory or the practical application of Law.

Indeed, it is a maxim with the writers on Law generally, "that nothing can sanction or legalize injustice; that no law subversive of natural right has any binding obligation." Even the authors of the Code Napoleon have said, with no less elegance than truth, "that no legislator can escape that invisible power, that silent judgment of the people, which tends to correct the mistakes of arbitrary legislation, and to defend the people from the law, and the lawgiver from himself."

Under a righteous government, and with such men on the Bench of Justice as alone are worthy to be there, a conclusive argument, showing that the law which had been violated was itself subversive of natural right, unjust, cruel, contrary to the moral constitution of man, I have not a doubt that a conclusive argument to this effect would draw from the Judge a charge to the jury that they must find the prisoner not guilty, because the law itself was one too bad to be obeyed. What decision, ever given, has been more applauded than that of the Vermont Judge, when a man was brought before him and claimed as a slave. After hearing all the testimony the claimant could adduce, "nothing," said he, "can satisfy me that this man is the property of another man, *nothing less than a bill of sale from the Almighty.*"

But we are told that our government is what it is—not perfect, though the best that exists upon the face of the earth—and that while we live under this government, enjoying its protection, we are bound to obey its laws. I reply in the first place, as to protection, we are very much less indebted for that to our government, than we are to a correct moral and humane sentiment, prevalent throughout the community—and that if our law makers, expounders and administrators are doing what tends to corrupt that public sentiment, to obscure the people's vision, and blunt their sense of right, they are doing the worst they can to undermine our security, and expose our property, reputation and life, to unprincipled men.

But granting that we owe to our government all that is alleged, it demands too much in return when it requires that we shall set God's law at naught, and trample upon our common humanity.

Then, say some, leave the country and escape from your obligation, by going beyond the reach of the power which oppresses you. But, I reply, we shall not be likely to better our condition. Other forms of wrong and tyranny might meet us, wheresoever we may go, that we should be equally bound to withstand. Besides we owe our country, which, with all her faults, we dearly love, we owe our country something more and better than desertion, in this hour of her utmost trial. Never have the principles on which the civil institutions of our country were founded been put to so severe a test as at this day. The encroachments of the despotic power of a slaveholding oligarchy upon that liberty which our fathers thought they had bequeathed us, have been made to such an extent, that the champions of that oligarchy have, on the floor of our national congress, pronounced the glorious declaration of '76, *that all men have an inalienable right to liberty*, a mere rhetorical flourish—and have dared to initmate that the poor and labouring people of the northern States ought not to be allowed to exercise the prerogatives of freemen, any more than the Southern slaves. And by the machinery of partyism, the leaders of the northern wings of the two political hosts, have been brought to acquiesce in the supremacy of the slaveholding power in our country, and to unite in requiring of us all implicit obedience to its demands, though they violate utterly our highest sense of right, and outrage every feeling of humanity. Now then these unrighteous, tyrannical demands must be withstood, or all but the semblance of liberty, all but liberty for certain favoured classes will be lost! And by whom shall these demands be withstood, unless by those who most deeply feel how grievous they are? No—we who love true and impartial liberty, are the last men who ought to leave our country at this crisis. Lord help us to say—"Our country—though we die for thee—yet will we not forsake thee!"

But say the abettors of this fugitive slave law—the demands which this law makes on us are all in accordance with the compromise of the constitution. Then, I reply, it was a compromise which ought never to have been made; and would not have been binding even upon those who made it, unless men have power to abrogate the laws of God Ah! say our opponents, that compromise was made by the great and glorious fathers of our revolution. What, then, were those men incapable of error? Are we to bow even to them, as if they had a divine right to dictate to all coming ages, what is wisest and best to be done or suffered? They were the last men, who would have assumed that control over their posterity, which the sycophants of slaveholders are now eager to give them And the history of the ratification of the constitution assures us, that our fathers by no means anticipated the terrible results, to which their compromises have led. They believed rather, and declared, that such an arrangement was made, as would in a few years undermine and extirpate the system of Slavery.

Here, however, I may be told that a few years afterwards, in 1793, our Congress enacted a law on purpose to carry out that part of the Constitution, said to be intended for the recovery of fugitive slaves; and that the provisions of that bill were almost as obnoxious to our humanity, as those of the bill of 1850. What does all this prove? Taken in connection with the history of the last fifty-seven years, it proves that such a law cannot, as it ought not to be enforced. The law of 1793, all know, had become a dead letter. The enactments of the several State Legislatures, and the decisions of the United States Court conspired with public sentiment, to render it null and void; and fugitives from Southern oppression dwelt in our borders, "where it liked them best," with none to molest or make them afraid.

Yes—the advocates of this Mason and Webster bill rejoin "and because the statute of 1793 had become inoperative, it was necessary to make the law of 1850 with more stringent provisions; and *this law must be obeyed, or the Union will certainly be dissolved.*" We have heard this Southern cry of "treason," "anarchy," "dissolution," so often, that it has ceased to alarm us. So, if this terrible evil is really at hand, it must be left to come upon the country; for we can not do any more than we have done to pacify the alarmists, who, like the roguish boy in the fable, have so often deceived us. The harmony of the States was never very seriously disturbed by the general non-observance of the former law; and the latter one is so much worse than the former, that we shall have a still better justification for trampling it under our feet.

To urge that our Republic cannot be maintained but upon principles diametrically opposite to those upon which it was so solemnly based, is as much as to proclaim to the world that our Declaration of Independence is found to be untrue, and thus rejoice the hearts of tyrants throughout the world, and cast down forever the hopes of the oppressed everywhere. For this I trust, few of us, and not many even of our Southern brethren, are prepared. If, indeed, the union of these States cannot be preserved but by our consenting to do the great unrighteousness which this "Bill of abominations" requires, then it is plain that its end has come; on such a condition it ought not to be, and cannot be continued. "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall," is an old maxim, often quoted as embodying a great principle of morality. Surely then we may say, without being very transcendental in our uprightness—"*Let this great injustice not be done, though the Union falls!*"

Yet again: though the upholders of this horrid bill have the grace to allow that we may do all in our power to procure the repeal of what they call the Law, yet they insist that until it is repealed we are bound, and shall be compelled, to obey it. Let us look at this position. I will show it to you in the clear light which is thrown upon it by the author of an admirable pamphlet entitled "The Higher Law,"* which I wish may be read by every man and woman in the land." "If you are to keep on obeying this unjust law, while working against it all the while, is it not plain to see that your example will contradict your precept? Your life gives your principles the lie. What is the use of preaching up justice, of talking against an unjust law, when by your every act of obedience to it, justice receives a fatal stab? Truly it is a queer way of getting an atrocious law repealed to keep on obeying it. Their reasoning is this: Because an unjust law is enacted we must obey it as a law, and do all we can to repeal it, because it is unjust. Seeing that iniquity is established by statute, we must keep the statute till we can destroy it; uphold it, till it can be overthrown! Such beetle logic may safely be left to confute itself. Because the majority have resolved to sin, we must go with them, and keep on sinning to the end of the chapter, and then turn right about and sin no more, because we have at length succeeded in convincing the majority that we are all miserable sinners, especially we who knew better, and so have added the guilt of hypocrisy to the guilt of cruelty."

But, as this writer says, a still more conclusive answer may be drawn from history. Experience teaches us that obedience to an unjust law never procured its repeal. The actual method by which communities have gotten rid of unrighteous laws has been by protesting against them, disobeying them, and thus coming into conflict with the government at the bar of public opinion, the common moral sense of mankind, which is the great umpire on earth, to whom monarchs and majorities must ultimately bow. "First, the people have thrown unjust laws aside; and then the legislature have abrogated them because they were thrown aside. First, the law has perished because of its injustice, and then been buried by statute, because it was dead."

What would be the effect on the minds of Mr. Webster and others who have used "all their personal and official influence" to procure the enactment, and enforce obedience to this Fugitive Slave Law—what, I ask, would be the effect on their minds, if it should be known that we, the people of Central New York, who have protested so loudly against it, were nevertheless every where consenting to obey it, in all its provisions? Would they not point to the fact as a signal evidence of the eminent success of "their peace measures?" If we will only become "the setters," and "terriers," and "bloodhounds," of the Southern men-hunters, they care not how much we bark and howl about the decree that would make us such.

Once more, it is urged by our opposers that we are very presumptuous in setting up our individual opinions in opposition to the enlightened wisdom of the greatest statesmen of our country, the majority of our legislators, and of their constituents. Now, this is not stating the case fairly. The Fugitive Slave Law is not an offence to only here and there an individual. Millions see and feel it to be most flagrantly unjust and cruel. The minority in Congress, opposed to its enactment, was a very large one; and a great many of the majority, both in and out of Congress, execrate the law, at the same time that they insist upon obedience to it. Indeed it would be hard to find a person who would undertake to show the justice, much less the mercifulness, of the law.

The question before the country, then, is whether a law which a vast majority allow to be a wicked one—which even the most unscrupulous adherents of Mr. Webster, at first, recoiled from with horror—a law which outrages all the natural, indefeasible rights of those against whom it is directed, and does violence to the best feelings of those who are called upon to execute it: the question is, whether such a law ought to be obeyed, merely because by legislative management a majority of the members of Congress was obtained for it? If the will of the majority be thus absolute; if there be no appeal from it; if there were no natural, eternal principles of right and wrong, upon which we may fall back in such an emergency, I see not that our own liberties are any more secure than they would be under some forms of monarchical government. The way in which Mr. Webster and his fellow labourers flout at conscience and the moral sense of mankind, shows how little they have of the Democratic spirit; how little fitted they are to help forward our great experiment of self-government.

Men differ much on minor questions of morals, and there is sometimes room for honest differences. But the glorious principles announced in the Declaration of American Independence were *self-evident* to all men. So self-evident were they, that the oppressors of mankind every where were dismayed at their annunciation, and the oppressed were filled with joy unspeakable. In regard to murder and theft, the consciences of men will not be found to differ much throughout our country, or the civilized world. And could the people of these States be all brought to witness an attempt *to take from a man his liberty*, and reduce him to the condition of a brute, it cannot be doubted that a thousand would cry shame upon the deed, for every one who could attempt to justify it. I have, as yet, met with but a single individual who, without qualification, affirmed that this law is a righteous one.

Tell me not, then, that we are setting up our individual consciences against the conscience of the nation. A vast majority abhor the law, though there may be a majority that, for certain reasons of State, have concluded it is expedient to enforce the law, bad though it be. We have the heart of the nation with us, though the head may be against us.

These followers of the expedient rather than of the right would fain make it appear that our opposition to this law tends to the subversion of all law. We know better, and so do they. The only claim which a law can have to our respect and obedience *is its justice* If it be unjust only to our property or our persons, if it subject us only to pecuniary loss, or to inconvenience, we may, for the sake of peace, we ought to, submit to it. But when it requires us, as this law does, to inflict the greatest injury upon others, *we are not at liberty to obey.* We are bound by our obligation to God and man to set the law at naught, and then patiently take the consequences, which cannot be so bad to ourselves or to our country as would be the consequences of our acquiescence in this tremendous wickedness. "Disobedience to unjust laws, so far from subverting, tends directly to establish *law*, by honouring the only true source of its claims. The only real upholder of law is he who strenuously opposes unjust laws. He who blindly and passively obeys all laws, right or wrong, merciful or cruel, is not the friend of law, but of arbitrary rule and tyranny."

The citizens of Syracuse and of Onondaga County did not, on the last of October, violate the *law*; they set at naught an unrighteous, cruel edict; they trampled upon tyranny. Who doubts, who does not know, that if poor Jerry had been arrested for some crime, or only misdemeanour—for the violation of property or the disturbance of the peace—who does not know, if that had been his case, that all the people would have said Amen, so let it be? They would not have interposed in his behalf, even if, in his struggles against the executive officers, he brought upon himself a harsher usage than his offence seemed to deserve

But when the people saw a man dragged through the streets, chained and held down in a cart by four or six others who were upon him; treated as if he were the worst of felons; and learnt that it was only because he had assumed to be what God made him to be, a *man*, and not a *slave*—when this came to be known throughout the streets, there was a mighty throbbing of the public heart; an all but unanimous up-rising against the outrage. There was no concert of action except that to which a common humanity impelled the people. Indignation flashed from every eye. Abhorrence of the Fugitive Slave Bill poured in burning words from every tongue. The very stones cried out. Persons who had never been known to manifest the least interest in the cause of our enslaved countrymen, were loud in their cries of shame! shame! Quickened, roused, urged on by this almost universal denunciation of the outrage upon freedom, some men, more ardent, less patient or cautious than the rest, broke through the slight partition between the victim and his liberty; struck off the chains that bound him; and gave him "a God speed" to a country where man-hunters may not follow him. Then such a shout of gladness rose upon the air as never made this welkin ring before It was not my privilege to witness the release. I came as soon as my feet could bring me (from the Dillaye Block) to the scene and joined the loud acclaim. If that were sinful, then there were few if any saints in all our town that night. If that were treason, then there were few patriots here.

And now there are men (so called honourable men) going about to inflict heavy pecuniary penalties, imprisonment, and, if they can compass it, death, upon those individuals who may be proved to have aided and abetted *the rescue of a man from Slavery;* to punish as felons those who mean to obey God, and respect the rights of their fellow beings! Nay, but they say, it is for violating law you are to be punished. Will they then—Americans as they are—will they maintain that a government cannot enact a law so bad that the people would be justified in trampling it under foot? If they take this position, they condemn utterly *the fathers of the revolution.* But if they stand upon the American doctrine, that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," then I fain would have them tell me, if they can, what law *could be more tyrannical* than this which some of our citizens are accused of having violated? For one, I cannot believe that the public sentiment of this nation will sustain our rulers in their attempt to enforce obedience to this outrageous enactment.

But, fellow-citizens, whatever may betide any of us, for the aid we have given, or the sympathy we have shown, to a hunted fellow man, let us meet it firmly, in the spirit of Christian fortitude and long suffering. Let there be no violence offered or thought of, towards the misguided men, who are attempting to execute this great unrighteousness. They cannot dispose of us by any summary proceeding. They cannot deny us the "due process" of Law. They cannot withhold from us "a trial by jury"—nor if we should need it, can they forbid us "a writ of Habeas Corpus." We can venture to wait. There is no dire necessity upon us to resort to any violence in order to escape ourselves, or to rescue any of our number from a doom which every man accounts far worse than death. *They cannot make us slaves.* Our legalized persecutors may take from us our money; but they cannot rob us of our respect for the rights of man, and our consciousness of good intention. They may incarcerate our bodies, but they cannot imprison our souls. They cannot confine our thoughts or the expression of them within a dungeon. They cannot build walls so high, that our prayers shall not overleap them, and go up to the God of the oppressed. They may (though it is too monstrous to be apprehended in this age and country), they may perhaps inflict death upon us, but that would only set our spirits free a little sooner, and send them into the more immediate presence of Him, who has filled our hearts with *this Love of Liberty.*

APPENDIX.

A.

On the 15th of October, the day after the foregoing speech was delivered, eight of our fellow-citizens were arrested by the U. S. Marshal, to be taken before the U. S. District Judge, on the charge of having prevented the execution of this law. So soon as it was known, that they were thus set upon by the agents of our government, they, and a large number of their fellow-citizens, assembled in the Congregational Church, to consider what should be done. There was but one opinion expressed, but one feeling manifested, and that was to meet the question calmly, at the tribunals of our country. Here was no emergency, that would warrant any uprising of the people—any interference in behalf of the sufferers. They would have all the benefits of the "due process of law," "trial by jury," &c., and there was no little reason to believe that if any of the arrested should be proved to have aided in the rescue of "Jerry," it would be hard to get a jury of their peers who could find them guilty of a crime worthy of fine and imprisonment. Resolutions to this effect were passed unanimously, and the meeting adjourned—the arrested to go in bonds, and many of the rest to go, as bound with them, to Auburn, to be examined by Judge Conklin.

Much deep feeling was manifested by the crowd around the Depot—but no offer of resistance to the law was so much as spoken of. The same populace that could not bear to see a poor man seized, and reduced to Slavery, consented that eight of our worthy fellow-citizens, against whom there had never before been a breath of reproach, should be arraigned for "the rescue." For the sentiment was universal, that for such a deed, if they were found to have committed it, they could not be made to appear like criminals in the eyes of a people who love liberty, and revere justice. If our Government shall punish them for giving to a man his "unalienable rights"—the disgrace will attach to the government, and not to the sufferers.

No attempt was made, on the examination, to repel the charge by opposing testimony; and so all who had been arrested were of course bound over to be tried for the alleged offence. To all this our citizens have quietly submitted; and yet there are those who are clamouring if over the country, that we of Syracuse, *are not a law-abiding people.* Some who dwell with us have joined in this cry. Shame upon them, and upon all who are circulating the scandal. The citizens of Syracuse will ever abide by law—they only trample upon tyranny.

B.

It was pretty generally known throughout the country that there is prevalent in this city and county a strong Anti-Slavery sentiment, and, more especially, a deep abhorrence of the Fugitive Slave Law. As if on purpose to set this public feeling at defiance, and challenge us to make it manifest, Mr. Webster declared to an assembly of our citizens last June, that that execrable law should be enforced here; ay, in the midst of the next Anti-Slavery Convention that should be held in this city. Such a threat was not adapted to allay the rising of an opposite determination. We are not all here quite so craven and slavish as to bow at once submissively to such a brow beating as he attempted to give us. His words rankled in the bosoms of a great many. This too was well known. If, therefore, the District Attorney and Deputy Marshal had interded to entrap the ardent opponents of his most odious law, tempt them to the commission of acts, for which they might arrest them as disturbers of the peace, if not as traitors, they could not have selected a better time, nor have devised more certain provocatives to that end. They chose a day when our city was full of the people of the country round about, who had come in to attend the County Agricultural Fair, and Liberty Party Convention—the first Anti-Slavery meeting held here since Mr. Webster uttered his threat.

Then, they had not provided themselves with a sufficient constabulary force to make it even appear difficult to take their victim out of their grasp. The scene exhibited in the streets, of Jerry contending with his legalized kidnappers, and screaming for help, had exasperated the feelings of the people to the utmost: and then he was kept for hours, separated from the eager throng only by two glazed doors, and within them a slight board partition. So little forethought had these men, who undertook, under the cover of this law, to perpetrate this outrage upon the feelings of our community, that they had not procured a proper warrant for the aid of "the military." Consequently the poor doomed man was left in a very exposed place, guarded by only half-a-dozen Marshals and constables, some of whom had too much humanity left in their hearts not to know that they were doing a dastardly, and cruel deed; and to be in some measure enervated by self-condemnation.

Under such circumstances, what could be expected, but that Jerry would be rescued? We cannot be too grateful that it was done at the expense of only one broken limb, and at the loss of no life. If now our government, at the instigation of Southern demagogues, and Northern pseudo-patriots, goes about to make out of this transaction a great offence against Law and Government, they will only bring them both into greater contempt—for *the people know*, that the claims of natural justice, and of suffering humanity are higher than of the law of Sept. 18th, 1850, or the authority of those who would attempt to enforce it.

c.

The occurrence of October 1st has abundantly verified the words of Daniel Webster, uttered in a speech on the State of the Union, in New York, March 15, 1837. "The question of Slavery has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper, deeper chord. It has arrested the religious feeling of our country. It has taken hold on the consciences of men * * * To coerce it into silence to endeavour to restrain its free expression, to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated as such endeavours would inevitably render it,—should all this be attempted—I know nothing, even in the *Constitution, or the Union itself*, which would not be endangered by the explosion which might follow."—*Onondaga Standard.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

††† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1851.

In the history of the politics of this republic we read always the same unvarying fact of the complete subserviency of all parties to the Slave-power; and if the general truth be not a sufficient lesson, the history of the last fifteen years should specially teach us that so long as the Union exists no reliance can be placed upon any merely political organization for the overthrow of Slavery, till that one is organized which shall avow its object to be the Abolition of Slavery or the Dissolution of the Union. Not that we believe that any distinct proposition of that sort will ever be presented to the country by any party duly marshalled upon its separate Platform, officered by its chosen leaders, marched, counter-marched, and put through all its manœuvres, and led finally into the field to offer battle on this issue to whatever foe it may find there. Such Revolutions, when they come are the growth of events, and are neither feared nor seen of men. Events are nevertheless foreshadowing the time to come when the hatred of Slavery shall reach that point at the North, and fanaticism in its defence shall be so mad at the South, that some existing political organization, born of the necessity of the day, shall find itself compelled and ready to act upon the alternative of Dissolution or Emancipation. That party will be the first, under the Union, that shall present a determined front to the enemy, simply because it will be ready to sacrifice the Union on the altar of Liberty. Whether in that hour a goat will be provided as a substitute for the free-will offering—we shall know when the hour comes.

In the meantime the lesson upon lesson which is taught by each succeeding event in party politics, is leading to this general result as each special result is successively exhibited. A Democratic treachery, or a Whig fraud, a "truck and dicker" compromise, or Liberty Party surrender, each leaves behind it a certain residuum of purpose and disappointed hope, of disgust and indignation, which go to make up the great scheme of circumstances which are tending certainly to the great result. What act of political perfidy may be the feather's weight which shall break the back of a people's patience we shall never know till the feather is added to the burden; but we may be certain that Time is balancing it between his fingers.

Those patriotic citizens who have organized themselves, the last year, into a band of special constables for the preservation of the peace of the Union have assumed to themselves no unnecessary duty, and have shown their wisdom in the method wherewith they propose to perform it. AGITATION, as we have often said, is the all-conquering weapon which the foes of the monster should ever wield against him. If his friends can disarm them of that, they secure, full surely, his safety and their own peace. They do not magnify the danger; their instincts, if not their knowledge, have led them to wise and just conclusions. The blow that shall destroy Slavery, may shiver the Union also into atoms. This certainly is saved by warding off the blow from that; by repressing Agitation a certain and a threatened danger are, at the same time, averted.

But in their means of safety lies also their danger. Their very hostility to agitation, from the necessity of which they cannot escape, puts new strength into the element against which they struggle. That which would have smothered the spark only fans the fierce fire into a brighter blaze. Thus they come also to do their allotted work, and fill up their little space in the great train which is leading to the great and glorious end.

The last political move is not always the most striking exemplification of the truth of what we are here enforcing, but none more remarkable has occurred recently than in the election of last week in this State. It was intended by both parties to be a struggle that should be decided on State questions alone. In the nominating Conventions of both, the question of Slavery was carefully excluded from the Resolutions, and the people were virtually asked to suspend their judgment, in this contest, as to which party was most faithful, and which most faithless to the Union and the Compromises. But this was a dodging of the question which the Union Safety Committee, in their capacity of Conservators of the Union, could not permit. In their judgment it was not enough that it should be known whether a candidate was in favour of or against the Enlargement of the Canal, in favour of, or against any other question of State policy, but whether he was also willing or unwilling to run down, catch, and return to bondage a fugitive negro. This, they insisted, was the proper issue to offer to the people, and as the two parties chose to blink it out of sight it became their duty to see that it was properly presented. Accordingly the preparatory steps were taken by the circulation of the Pledge which we published several weeks since, the signers whereof promised that their suffrages should be given only to such men as were known to be faithful to the Compromises. The ostensible signatures to this pledge were then paraded in the columns of the Slave-catchers organ, the *Journal of Commerce*; a weak proceeding, by the bye, ere this, probably, fully repented of, as the election returns show a disparity of thousands between the number of actual voters of the Union ticket and the sum-total of names as signed to the Pledge. But the nomination was made by the Union Safety Committee of such men were known to be sound in limb, wind, and will to the carrying out to the letter and in spirit the Fugitive Slave Law, and any and all other compromises with the Slave power made, or to be made, whereby the North, like a poor servant who fears he can get no second place, agrees to do anything that is required of her on condition that she shall not be turned off from service altogether.

So factious a course was received on all hands with curses both loud and deep. The Whigs, who, for this occasion, had omitted their old part of Friends of Freedom, were indignant that they should be considered as still trying the old 'dodge,' when by express arrangement they had agreed to lay it aside. The old line Locofocos were less deeply moved at this apparent reflection upon their character, for they calculated pretty safely that the more pro-slavery any movement might be, the more likely it was to further their interests; but their younger brethren, the Barnburners, who had piled away the timbers of the Buffalo Platform as, at present, rather useless timber, and contented themselves with their old and comfortable seats in Tammany Hall, were stung almost to madness at this bringing forward their past sins for present proscription, especially when they had virtually proclaimed that they should be forgotten. But the inexorable Union Committee yielded nothing to threats and entreaties. The ticket was nominated, and, though the result is not yet positively certain, enough is known to justify the wisdom of their course, and to convince all parties that on this subject there can be no neutrality.

The lesson, we think, will not be lost, and many a man of influence in his party will learn to imitate the example of the Union Committee, and choose to serve his master with a whole heart and not with a divided worship. As Abolitionists, we, of course, rejoice in another step forward towards the "good time coming" of Dissolution or Emancipation.

"WHAT do you think," writes an esteemed correspondent, "of Frederick Douglass' article on R. D. Webb's Letter?" The editor of the *Liberator*, we observe, has made the article the subject of a leader, and we refer our friend to that as an answer to his question, and as one which meets, probably, the approbation of every adherent to the American Anti-Slavery Society. On one important point, however, we differ widely with Mr. Garrison, and that is as to the authorship of the article. We do not believe that Mr. Douglass ever wrote it; nor do we mean to believe it except on some better evidence than the mere fact of its having appeared in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.

That, indeed, we consider as very inconclusive evidence, for the paper edited by Frederick Douglass has never, since the *North Star* was established, so little deserved as now the name of "Frederick Douglass' Paper." It seems to have ceased to be that at the very moment when—*lucus a non lucendo*—it assumed to be that and nothing else. It is now emphatically the organ of the Liberty party, so far as its influence is concerned, though its ownership, we suppose, rests entirely in Mr. Douglass. Whether such were the terms of the contract when the *North Star* and *The Liberty Party Paper* were united under the new title, of course we do not know, but it certainly shows, in rather a striking manner, the modest estimate which the Liberty Party put upon its own importance and merit that it should have consented that its organ should drop its distinctive name and assume that of an individual, and he a new convert. A man of less pretension than Mr. Douglass is entitled, both from talent and weight of character, to make, might be satisfied, for such a concession, to yield the opportunity of exercising a merely personal influence.

We would not be understood as wanting in respect for the members of the Liberty Party; as earnest and sincere men they are entitled to all we can give them, while, at the same time, we believe their fundamental Anti-Slavery principle to be altogether erroneous and mischievous. But as a party they are something more than Anti-Slavery, and, as in duty bound, they do not lose sight, in their organ, of the other measures of reform at which they aim. Whether Mr. Douglass sympathizes with them in all this we do not know; we do not remember that he avowed his adhesion to all their principles as well as that which distinguishes them as Abolitionists. At any rate we do not believe that he agrees with his co-editor in making his Anti-Slavery subservient to other Liberty Party doctrines; that he would say, for instance, as his paper has said, "I know it is a common belief that our political rights are more in danger from the encroachments of the slave power, than from other malignant powers. I deny it. The Liberty Party denies it. Slavery can never attain the ascendancy in this nation. It must have a partner on the throne. It can never rule alone. Rum power and the land power will ever divide the empire with it." Nor can we believe that he will ever come to such a conclusion as this, avowed in the same article from which the above words are quoted: "Shift the war. Permit Slavery to rest awhile, center the moral energies of the country against the rum power, and see if it does not prove itself to have as firm a hold upon the country, to be as firmly seated in political power, if it is not even a more difficult and stronger antagonist than Slavery, and so of land monopoly." To suppose him the author of such sentiments, or even to agree to them would, to us, involve the necessity of believing him to have forgotten the hard lot to which he was born, the cruel experience of his earlier years; and that flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, that even the mother that bore him, may, at this moment, be offered for sale on the auction-block to the highest bidder. He knows, too well, we think, the infamous avarice, the lust of power, the love of rule, which belong to the personal character of the slaveholder, and which sustain Slavery at the same time, that it engenders them, to believe, for moment, that any other single interest can at all compete with this which, heretofore unseen, but now seen of men, rules the nation socially, religiously and politically. Land monopoly is unquestionably a bad thing, but the free land party might carry all their measures tomorrow, and no adverse influence upon any class in the community would be perceptible; the reform in regard to the public lands could be perfected absolutely without the knowledge of seven-eighths of the people. And drunkenness is a terrible evil, but the power of getting drunk with the personal consequences to the drunkard and his immediate social circle, is the beginning and the ending of the rum power, excepting, perhaps, in certain localities, the influence it exercises upon the statistics of pauperism. Slavery to either of these is as a man's whole character, life, and object in life, to some accidental circumstance which may impede his prosperity, or some unfortunate habit which may lessen his usefulness or take from him the respect with which he might otherwise be regarded.

Mr. Douglass, of course, is responsible for the editorial matter which may appear in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, but when we remember the relation which he has sustained to Messrs. Webb and Thompson; when we know, from his own paper, that he is much of the time absent upon lecturing tours, and necessarily leaves the paper to the sole charge of his editorial coadjutor; and when we reflect how many evils beside Anti-Slavery the Liberty Party proposes to reform by political action, and that the Liberty Party editor of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, is, at least, a score of other things quite as much as he is an Abolitionist, and that he necessarily cares but little and knows but little of 'fragmentary' Anti-Slavery, and '*one-idead*' Anti-Slavery people; it is very easy for us to ascribe the article in question to him, but very difficult for us to believe that Mr. Douglass ever wrote it.

Is our correspondent answered? If not, and he does not agree with us, but wishes to know what we think of the article *as* Frederick Douglass' then we refer him, as before, to the *Liberator* of week before last.

THE COVENANTERS ON MAN-HUNTING.

THE New York Presbytery, which was in session in this city from the 7th to the 14th ultimo, passed the following sterling Resolutions upon Slavery and Slave-hunting The Covenanters are the only body of Christians in the country, which, as an organization has either the courage or the conscience thus to condemn our great National Sin. They say:

Whereas, it is our duty as witnesses for Christ to bear testimony against the evils that prevail—and

Whereas, We should "Open our mouth for the dumb in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction"—and to "Open our mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy, to remember those that are in bonds as bound with them." Therefore—

1. Resolved, That we regard Slavery with abhorrence, as a most henious sin and an unmitigated political and social evil. We are convinced that depriving men of their right to themselves—the power of abrogating the marriage relation—of separating parents and their youthful offspring—and possessing an absolute power over the bodies and souls of men, can never exist without heinous criminality, and no conceivable circumstances can excuse any in the practice of this God-defying sin. Hence we regard immediate emancipation upon the soil as the only mode of bringing Slavery to a peaceful end and of complying with the requisitions of God's law.

2. Resolved, That the fugitive slave law is utterly repugnant to every principle of justice and in direct opposition to God's express law. Its accordance in its main elements with the Constitution of the United States renders it the more worthy of our detestation, and more clearly shows that its passage and enforcement will bring desolating judgments upon our land. Those officers who are comissioned to carry out its provisions are not employed in promoting the legitimate ends of civil government, the glory of God nor the good of men, but are acting in disobedience to God, and are entitled to no respect or obedience, but ought to be resisted by all means that accord with the law of God.

3. Resolved, That to inculcate obedience or conscientious submission to this law or respect for the officers of law in enforcing it, encourages men in their callous heartlessness respecting fugitives from bondage—countenances oppression—brings disgrace upon the church and gospel of Christ, and leads men to disregard the plainest provisions of God's law, which commands all to "relieve the oppressed," and forbids to bewray him that wandereth; and we warn all under our charge to beware of complying with the provisions of this law, or of giving assistance to those who would return to cruel bondage those who have escaped from their oppressors.

4. Resolved, That every minister who would not be false to his vows, false to the poor and needy, and false to the claims of the King of nations, should, especially in these times of opposition to the rights of God and of man, be careful to pray in public for the enslaved, preach against Slavery, and warn against the sins of exercising the elective franchise and holding office under a slaveholding constitution and Government.

The Presbytery also had before it the Rev. John Little, who seems to have been somewhat confused by both the sacred and profane philosophy—if the old distinction may be supposed to hold good here—of the day. His alleged sin, in the eyes of his Church, was what in other churches is accounted virtue; and he was reprimanded for that

A CARD OF THANKS.

We mentioned last week, that in the Convention at Rochester, to nominate a candidate for the Assembly, some twenty and odd votes were given for Frederick Douglass. They were thrown, probably, by Silver Grays to defeat the election of some person obnoxious to that party. Mr. Douglass, however, has addressed them the following Card of thanks in his paper:

To F. Gorton, B. E. Hecock, N. H. Gardner, Jas. Abrams, of *American* office; Joseph Putnam, S. F. Witherspoon, William Breck, United States Deputy Collector; C. S. Jennings, James H. Kelly, John C. Stevens, L. R. Jerome, United States Deputy and of *American* office; Sullivan Gray, Edward French, Wm. Thorn, Justin Day, Jr., E. R. Warren, Joseph Cornwall, Rev. Charles G. Lee, formerly preacher in Syracuse; M. H. Jennings, Jared Coleman, United States Deputy Collector:

GENTLEMEN: I have learned with some surprise, that in the Whig Convention held in this city on Saturday last, you signified, by your votes, a desire to make me your representative in the Legislature of this State. Never having, at any time that I recollect, thought, spoken, or acted in any way to commit myself to either the principles or the policy of the Whig party, but on the contrary, having always upheld and publicly expressed opinions diametrically opposed to those held by that part of the Whig party which you are supposed to represent, your voting for me, I am bound in courtesy to suppose, is founded in misapprehension of my political sentiments.

Lest you should, at any other time, commit a similar blunder, I beg to state, once for all, that I do not believe that the Slavery question is settled forever. I do not believe that Slave-catching is either a Christian duty or innocent amusement. I do not believe that he who breaks the arm of the kidnapper, or wrests the trembling captive from his grasp is a "traitor." I do not believe that Daniel Webster is the Saviour of the Union, or that the Union stands in need of such a Saviour. I do not believe that human enactments are to be obeyed when they are point blank against the law of the living God. And believing most fully (as I do) the reverse of all this, you will easily believe me to be a person wholly unfit to receive the suffrages of gentlemen holding the opinions and favouring the policy of that wing of the Whig party, denominated "the *Silver Grays*."

With all the respect which your decision permits me to entertain for you, I am, gentlemen, your faithful fellow-citizen, FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

EXTENDING THE AREA.

A late St. Louis paper enters into detail in relation to the revolution now in progress in northern Mexico, and states facts which, though nothing more than was suspected, have not been so clearly stated and candidly admitted by any other Southern paper that has come under our notice. We copy the article as follows:

THERE is scarcely a doubt in our mind that the revolution now progressing in the northern provinces of Mexico will be successful, and that a new Republic will be established, more liberal and just in character than the present Republic in Mexico.

The New Republic, now struggling for existence, when formed and established, will lay directly adjacent to the United States, and must, therefore, be placed in direct communication with our people. It is easy to foresee that, so situated as the whole of this northern Republic must soon become thoroughly Americanized, and, like Texas did, a few years ago, *ask to be annexed, and admitted into our Union, as one of the States of our confederacy.* Already, indeed, a large number of Americans are scattered over this district of country, and although this revolt is said to be gotten up by Mexicans themselves, headed by Caravajal and a few more like him, who are dissatisfied with the present Republic of Mexico, under the Government of President Arista, yet *the real facts indicate that Americans, mainly, are at the bottom of this movement.*

We reason thus from the fact that a secret and powerful Association, formed in the South, during the war with Mexico, called the "BUFFALO HUNTERS," by some, the "OUSEL OWLS," by others, is still, we see, in the full tide of existence and experiment on the borders of Mexico, in Texas, New-Mexico and Louisiana. This Association, it is now stated, *number several thousand members, and has its branches even in the very heart of the Mexican country, now in a state of revolt.* Those who ought to know a great deal about the matter, assert that *this secret Association owes its existence to men in high standing in the United States*, and although prudence dictates to some of these persons, at the present time, a disclaimer against the Society, yet history, to be truthful, in regard to the origin of the "Ousel Owls," would fix it upon distinguished American citizens. At all events, this Society is still in existence, and still determined to do what it can in carrying out the first great object, a dissolution of the present Mexican Republic, and a new and separate Republic for the northern States of Mexico.

As we said before, the present revolt gives, at least, promise of success. Unlike the Cuban revolt, this one is headed, ostensibly, by Mexican citizens; and the "Ousel Owls," or any other people, may with propriety sympathize with, and join the standard of, the revolters Our Government will not, cannot interfere with this revolution, so long as it is conducted by Mexicans themselves, *and it is now placed beyond a doubt that thousands of Americans will leave the United States and hasten to join the standard of Gen. Caravajal.* Among them will certainly be every fillibuster, of the late Cuban expedition, who has been fortunate enough not to be caught by the Spaniards. To these adventurous men this is a new field to act upon, it is true, but most of them have their occupation in their swords, and will fight for liberty anywhere. Besides, although it is something of a round-about way, it is, in all probability, after all, the best way to conquer Cuba. For if this revolution in the northern States of Mexico shall succeed, and a new Republic be formed, what can be easier than the formation of a body of the same men that carried the Mexican Revolution to a successful determination, having for the object of their organization a successful expedition against Cuba?

That this idea is entertained throughout the South by those having opportunities to know, is very plain from the tone of their newspapers, and other expressions of a public character. A late number of *The Telegraph*, printed at Houston, Texas, speaks as follows, of this matter:

"The disasters that have attended the Cuban expedition may tend to advance the cause of the patriots of the Republic of Sierra Madre, for hundreds of volunteers that are prevented by the agents of President Filmore from embarking for Cuba, will now join the standard of the Mexican patriots, and establish free institutions throughout the whole of northern Mexico. Whatever may be the power of the General Government to prevent the Cuban volunteers from prosecuting their expedition, it cannot prevent its citizens from emigrating to the northern provinces of Mexico. In one or two months the new Government of the Sierra Madre Republic will in all probability be organized, and an army capable of maintaining its independence against the whole power of the Central Government of Mexico will display its victorious banners in the valley of the Rio Grande. When the new Republic is established, who is to prevent the victorious troops who have achieved its independence, from fitting out in their own ports, and under their own flag, an expedition *capable of subverting the power of old Spain in Cuba!* If this republic were at this time established, who can doubt that an army of five thousand volunteers could be concentrated at Tampico or Matamoras to aid the Cuban patriots? The gallant men who bore the star-spangled banner in triumph to the home of the Montezumas, are eager to tread out the last vestige of Spanish tyranny from the soil of America; and the blood of their murdered comrades, shed by the cowardly myrmidons of a tyrant, calls aloud for vengeance. They will not, they cannot, permit the soil that is consecrated by that blood to be long polluted by the tread of its bloodthirsty occupants. The soil that has been watered by the blood of freemen must be devoted to freemen. The chivalry of the South, like the crusaders of old, are rallying in all quarters for the combat. No human power can resist them—no disasters can appeal. Their battle-cry will never cease until this beautiful Island is rescued from the accursed grasp of tyranny."

TRIALS UNDER THE SLAVE LAW IN BOSTON.—The trial of those persons charged with the rescue of Shadrach commenced last week in Boston with that of Robert Morris, Jr., the coloured lawyer. John P. Hale and R. H. Dana appear as counsel for the defendant. The following questions were put to each juryman as he appeared to be sworn:

First: Have you expressed or formed any opinion relative to the matter now to be tried?

Second: Are you sensible of any prejudice or bias therein?

Third: Have you formed an opinion that the law of the United States, known as the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, is unconstitutional, so that you cannot convict a person indicted under it for that reason, if the facts alleged in the indictment are proved, and the Court hold the statute to be constitutional?

Fourth: Do you hold any opinion upon the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law, so called, which will induce you to refuse to convict a person indicted under it, if the facts set forth in the indictment and constituting the offence are proved against him, and the Court direct you that the law is constitutional?

Six of the jurors were unable to answer these questions satisfactorily to the Court, and were set aside. One man was sworn who expressed opinions adverse to the law, but thought it would not prevent him from rendering a true verdict according to the evidence.

The following are the names of the persons empanelled as the Jury:

Stephen Kendall, of Groton, Foreman; Lewis Coleman, of Boston; James Robinson, of Brookline; Constder Stockwell, of Plainfield; John Cuttle, of Westford; Horace Smith, of Hadley; Wm. R. Gay, of Dedham; Isaac Lothrop, of Charlestown; Samuel G. Wardwell, of do.; Caleb Rider, of Plymouth; Marcus S. Round, of Taunton; Nathan Jenkins, of Barnstable.

GEORGIA PLANTERS' CONVENTION.—The Planters Convention assembled at Macon, (Ga.) on the 27th ultimo, passed a series of Resolutions, of which we copy the most important, wherein the delegates express their determination to render the South commercially independent of the North. Such Resolutions are very good capital for Union Safety Committees to carry on business with, but some capital of another sort, and of which there is a plentiful scarcity among Southern planters, is necessary to effect their proposed purpose. Here, however, is the way they talk about it:

That this Convention appreciate the importance of direct intercourse with the continent of Europe for the "direct export" of the varied products of the South, and the "direct import to our Southern ports of the produce and manufactures of Europe consumed in the South."

That this Convention approve of the proposition that immediate action should follow the deliberations of this Convention, by shipping a portion of their crops—say one-tenth, or one-twentieth, or any amount, more or less, as is most convenient—for the purpose of forming a commercial basis, to be extended or modified hereafter as may be best to establish the "Commercial Independence" of the South.

That this Convention recommend the instant employment of the means now within our power, of every kind, for the promotion of Southern interests—the planting, manufacturing, and commercial.

Of attendance upon the Convention, the *Savannah Republican* says:

On calling over the list of delegates, a large number were found to be present from Georgia, Alabama and Florida, and the number was increased at subsequent meetings. About forty counties in Georgia were represented by one hundred and seventy-five delegates; five counties in Florida by nineteen delegates: Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina, each by two delegates, and Louisiana, Texas and Virginia, each by one delegate.

The *Courier and Inquirer* of this city, in an article on the disfranchisement and expatriation of the native (coloured) citizens of this country, says:

"Had the whole negro population of this Continent been free for the three generations which the heralds say it takes to make a boor's descendants gentlemen; were every black of them college-bred and thoroughly accomplished; and were a mass meeting of the entire people of the United States to resolve that the negroes are our political and social equals, and that we should and shall henceforward treat them as such—and more, were every one of them a Cœsus, we do not believe that the first movement would have been made towards breaking down the barrier which now exists, which ever existed, between the two races."

The editor speaks out of the fulness of self-knowledge. Were he himself of that third generation required by the heralds' philosophy, he would be better able to understand how a man with a dark skin could be upon an equality with one of a more milky complexion.

JOHN BOLDING, the Tailor and Slave, has been permitted, at length, to return to his Northern home What have been the causes of the delay we have not learned; but as there was a purpose in taking him to the South, he has been detained, doubtless, till that purpose, whatever it was, was answered. The public, however, will, in due time, probably be informed of all the facts in the case by Mr. Culver, Bolding's counsel, in accordance with that gentleman's promise made in his Card, published several weeks since. In the meantime even those who rejoiced that the poor tailor was torn from his heart-broken wife in obedience to our duty to the Union, will, we hope, rejoice that he has been permitted to return to her. He, we will answer for it, is quite willing to encounter the perils and hardships incident to the life of a freeman, and leaves behind him, without any misgivings, the flesh-pots of bondage. We doubt if his temporary return to that patriarchal condition has convinced him that he made any very great m stake when he first ran away from it.

THE CHRISTIANA PRISONERS.—The Grand Jury of the United States District Court at Philadelphia have returned seventy-eight true bills against the thirty-nine persons charged with participation in the resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law at Christiana. Two of the principal witnesses, however, who were confined to give their evidence on the trial have escaped from prison, so that a new difficulty is in the way of the Government procuring a conviction. We are told by a gentleman who has visited all the prisoners, that many of them have already suffered greatly in being suddenly torn from their families and incarcerated in jail, though not a shadow of evidence exists that they were near Christiana on the day that the slave-hunter was shot there.

KOSSUTH, the fugitive Hungarian, has arrived in England, and has been received there with great enthusiasm. His coming to this country, it seems, is uncertain, and the United States Steamer Mississippi arrived at this port on the 10th instant. Should he come here at all we suggest that John Bolding call on him, and relate how he also has been in captivity recently, how he was released from it, what perils and sufferings he has undergone, and how officers of the United States, Government honoured him also by their attendance. We think the great Magyar would not be long in deciding whether the United States were most Turkish or Austrian.

WHIG DOCTRINE IN MASSACHUSETTS.—A correspondent of the *Boston Transcript* expresses his objection to the Secret Ballot Law of Massachusetts in these words of Montesquieu: "*the lower class ought to be directed by those of higher rank, and restrained within bounds by the gravity of eminent persons!*" It is because the new Ballot Law takes away this power from the Cotton-factory agents and other 'eminent persons' on whom the 'lower class' depend for wages, that it is unpopular in the Whig party. The doctrine will hold good in more places than in Massachusetts.

A CORRECTION.—We are glad to learn from the (London) *Christian Inquirer* that the Rev. J. H. Ryland writes to that paper to say "that the resolution ultimately agreed to at the Anti-Slavery Meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern was not precisely as quoted by the American journals. As printed by the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, after expressing admiration of the American ministers who have vindicated the rights of the slave, it proceeds—'among these it (the meeting) would record the following,'—following with a list of names. Mr. Ryland states that the resolution was distinctly agreed to read thus—'it would record such as they know, viz.,' &c. The appearance of invidiousness thus in some measure removed."

The Resolution referred with the list of names, it will be remembered, we copied some time ago, from the *Inquirer*, and pointed out, at the same time, the apparent but unintentional injustice done in omitting the names of many Unitarian clergymen who had not forgotten nor neglected their duty to the Anti-Slavery cause.

——The *Syracuse Journal* having seen very strong denunciations of the conduct of Senator SEWARD in political meetings and elsewhere, has given the following statement of the facts of the case as derived from persons who were present on the occasion refered to:

Governor SEWARD went into the Court-House on Monday morning, to meet some gentlemen from this place, not defendants, but their friends, who had urged his return from New York to act as counsel for the accused. He explained his reason for declining to act in that capacity to their satisfaction. These and a number of other gentlemen from Syracuse, of the highest respectability, were in attendance to enter into recognizances for the defendants if it should become necessary. Among them were many of Governor SEWARD'S friends. On a suggestion of their wish to that effect, he signed the recognizances with them.

He invited these gentlemen to call on him before leaving the city. They said they were attended by ladies of their own families, and others, and were to return to Syracuse as soon as their business in Court could be concluded. Governor SEWARD thereupon walked with the ladies to his own house, and they spent half an hour very pleasantly in his library and grounds, of which they very justly give a glowing account. The gentlemen, among whom were Gen. Leavenworth, Capt. Putnam, Mr. Wheaton, Dr. Clary, Dr. Hoyt, Mr. Barnes, and others, called, paid their respects to the Governor, and taking the ladies with them, all returned to Syracuse by the cars.

The crime alledged against the Governor has this extent. All the rest is imagination.

Domestic Correspondence.

FROM OUR BOSTON CORRESPONDENT.

NO. XCI.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Day of Days—Comparison of Days—The Correspondent waxeth scientific and defineth anew the genus homo—He speculateth on the suffragiousness of mankind—He divideth rightly the duties of President-making and Governor-making—Corporal and Corporation Agents—Whig Christianity—Mr. Webster a Coalitionist—Whig love to Mr. Webster—What news they would like to hear—The Whigs, Mr. Webster, pap and wooden spoons—The Correspondent is oracular and giveth the Democrats good advice—The Webster Convention—Names and no Names—"Too much wit to be there"—The Candidate of the minority of a Minority—Whig Gudgeonism—The Correspondent forebodeth fun and promiseth the presence of one of distinction—He refuseth to commit himself—The Hunker Democrats—The divided duty—The Quarantine, the bill of health and the cargo—The Correspondent magnifieth his theme and concludeth, &c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, Nov. 10, 1851.

This is the day of days! The one day of the year for which all free and enlightened Americans live, move and have their being the other three hundred and sixty-four! I need hardly say that I mean it is Election Day. Great is Thanksgiving Day! Greater is the Fourth of July! But Greatest of all is the Day of General Election! For what were men made but to vote? Is not this his being's end and aim? Natural Philosophers have differed as to the distinctive definition which should rightly divide the animal Man from the rest of animated Creation. Some would characterize him as a reasoning animal; others as a talking animal; and yet others, who look more profoundly into the recondite economies of his nature, as a *cooking* animal. But as far as that portion of the species is concerned whose *habitat* is to be found in the Model Republic, language cannot denote him more truly than as a *Voting* animal. It is this characteristic which is his proud distinction from those priest-led, king-ridden populations of the Old World which he makes it such a virtue of looking down upon. In politics and in religion, everything is put to vote. No sooner has he fulfilled this necessity of his being than he begins to look forward to, and prepare for, the next time. He is continually in a *suffragious* or voting frame of mind. I don't mean to say that this method, when properly arranged and extended, and confined to the proper objects of government, is not as good as any other for the gathering up of results. Only I am very sure that if half the pains, time and money expended upon the machinery were bestowed on the improvement of the motive principle which sets it a-going, we should soon see a very different world around us.

This election is an unusually hotly contested one, for a mere State election, not mixed up directly with a Change in the National Administration. President-making is the highest duty and pleasure of the Voting Animal; but Governor-making does very well to keep his hand in during the intervals. Those in this State are warmly at work to-day in the prosecution of this subordinate duty. To be sure, auguries will be drawn from the flight of votes to-day as to the destinies of the next year's battle. The Whigs are "bending each corporal" (and each *corporation*) "agent to the terrible feat" of recovering their ascendancy in the State, which Mr. Webster passed over, on the penultimate Seventh of March, to the Democrats and Free Soilers They will regard their success in this attempt as an indorsement of Mr. Webster's nomination for the Presidency. In this they show more of the Christian spirit than is usually attributed to them by their opponents. For *he*, openly before the President and Cabinet, and as much of the assembled Nation as could be got into the Representatives' Chamber, endorsed the nomination of Governor Boutwell. *He* said that the Coalition Administration was good enough for *him*. And I suppose few persons are sufficiently grass-green to believe that he would rather have Mr. Winthrop Governor than Mr. Boutwell. And yet these poor spaniels of his still fawn upon him and lick his hand. He understands them well. He knows that the crack of the dog-whip is the only means by which certain political hounds can be made to hunt in couples. Whether they will run down his game for him is quite another matter.

I would not have you to suppose, however, that this devotion to Mr. Webster is the result of personal attachment, to any considerable extent. He is not popular with the Free Soilers, nor yet with the Democrats (although, indeed, he is *their* Whig candidate for the Presidency); but I doubt whether he is so cordially hated by either of the parties as by his own. I verily believe that the best news the Whigs could hear, the tidings that would spread the widest and most sincere satisfaction among them, would be that he had been found dead in his bed this morning. The Whigs in this State are in the predicament of those plantation Slaves we have read of, who permit one of their own number to tyrannize over them and who is worse for them than overseer and master put together. They have made Mr. Webster lord over their heritage (not God's, by any means,) and they can't dethrone him. As John Randolph (or was it Jefferson)? said of Slavery, they have the wolf by the ears and they can neither hold him or let him go. Their chains gall them, but they cannot break them. Of course, his persistency in determining to be beaten at the next Races commits them in the most fatal manner, on the desperate hypothesis of a Whig being chosen President. For, as his election is a thing even they (though the credulity of Massachusetts Whigs is almost without bounds) cannot expect, they forfeit by supporting him all claim to the favour of the successful candidate. There will be no pat *pap* for them. They have spilt it all with trying to eat it all up with a wooden spoon. The foreign embassies, the Cabinet Offices, the Collectorships, the Post Offices will not be for them. The Anti-Webster Whigs, if there be saved such a remnant, will devour them all up. Let no man say, then, that there is no disinterestedness in politics! For what can these poor Webster Whigs expect? To be sure, no sort of a Whig, has any chance whatever, so its of the less consequence. If the Democrats only are discreet enough to select a candidate suffigiently bad to be good, their calling and election will be sure.

I suppose you have seen the Call for the Convention to nominate Mr. Webster. It bears upon its face the impress of his desperation and that of his followers. Not a Whig of any eminence out of Boston, that is not one known by name out of the limits of the State, signed it. Of the four Whig ex-Governors, only poor shelved Mr. Everetts name is to be found upon the muster-roll of fame. Neither Governor Briggs, nor Governor Davis, nor Governor Lincoln, nor a single member of Congress, excepting the immortal Eliot and his successor Mr. Appleton, very few of the candidates for State offices, in short hardly anybody who has any reputation to lose or any promotion to hope, thought it expedient to embark their fortunes in that leaky craft. Like Lord Fairfax when his name was called among the Judges of the King, they "had too much wit to be there!" What can well be more absurd than a fiction, which lost the State, last year, and could not even command its own party in the Legislature, or even dared to move openly in the Convention of its own party, undertaking to set up a candidate for the Presidency by a Mass Meeting of a minority of a Minority! It is affirmed that they are infatuated enough to believe that he can get Democratic support! As if the Democrats had not men enough quite as bad as Mr. Webster, in his particular line of badness, without his Federal and Whig antecedents. But, as I have hinted before, there is no hook so void of bait as not to be swallowed by the gudgeons of State Street, and the shoals that swim in their wake. I think that *fun* may be depended upon at that Convention, if nothing else. I don't know how many people will be there, but I think I can promise you and Mr. Webster that there will be at least *one* person present. The modesty which has ever been my most marked characteristic forbids me to indicate his personal identity more specifically.

How the Election will result can be better told after it is over. The Whigs are very confident of entire success. The Free Soilers and Democrats are not without strong expectations of the same kind. Their success would be almost certain had it not been for the recusancy of the Hunker pro-slavery Democrats. They have devoted themselves to the Saving of the Union with a zeal worthy of Mr. Webster, himself. They hope by offering up Massachusetts as a burnt offering to Whiggery to propitiate the nostrils of the pro-slavery Democracy at Washington. They are the very best allies of the Whigs, and should be remembered in the distribution of the spoils of victory, should the Whigs obtain it. The leaders of the Democrats have perceived, like Desdemona "a divided duty," what with their natural wish to have their share of the loaves and fishes of Massachusetts, and their fear of forfeiting their claim to the fragments that shall be gathered up after the 4th of March, 1853, the have been in a predicament at once edifying and diverting They evidently wished the Coalition to succeed without their ostensible help, so that they might have a clean bill of health to show when put into quarantine next March is a year, and that without throwing overboard the infected cargo.

But I think you must have supped full of politics (*horrors*, they always are) for to-day. But would you respect me were I able to write about anything else, on Election day? I should be unworthy of the name of a free and enlightened American could I "fill up my mind" with any less exalted themes than those which the day suggests. And, moreover, I am not quite sure that I should have had anything else to say. For, though it is a wet day, it is a dry time.—D. Y.

Miscellaneous News.

JAMES A. HUDSON, of Talladego, Arkansas, shot a runaway negro dead, on the 24th ult.

——A NOVEL SIGHT.—Two large, gracefully proportioned, sprightly looking deer—a doe and a buck—passed through Broadway yesterday afternoon, attached, in the usual style, to a light wagon, containing two gentlemen.

——THE HUTCHINSON'S ROBBED.—The Hutchinsons while at tea at the Mansion House in Greenfield, Mass., on Sunday evening, were robbed of about $100 in specie, by a lad in their employ, about 14 years of age.

——Mr. BATES of Dundas, Canada, claims to have produced a light from the decomposition of atmospheric air, that is all that Payne's was expected to be. He will make it public in a few days.

——ONE hundred coloured free people left Baltimore on board the bark Morgan Dixon, Sunday morning, for Liberia. The parting scene is described as one of deep interest. The poor emigrants set sail in the midst of prayers and blessings.

——JUDGE MCLEAN in charging the Grand Jury of the U. S. Circuit Court in Ohio, at the October term said, "there never was an invasion among civilized nations, more atrocious and less excusable" than the Cuba hunt.

——THE law prohibiting negroes and mulattoes from coming in and residing in Oregon has been decided to be constitutional and valid, by Chief Justice Nelson, of that Territory, in a case brought before him recently. The defendant (coloured) was directed to leave the Territory within thirty days from the date of the decree.

——A JURY at East Cambridge, Mass., have given Edwin Taylor $156 damages against a Railroad Company, for being ejected from the Woburn branch train on the 4th July, 1850, because, not having purchased a ticket at the depot, he refused to pay the difference established by the By-Laws of the Company.

——THE MAINE LAW IN NANTUCKET.—A county temperance meeting of the citizens of Nantucket was held in the Sons of Temperance Hall on Saturday evening last. A unanimous vote was passed in favour of the Maine law, and a determination was expressed to urge its adoption by the Massachusetts Legislature.—*Boston Times.*

——ANOTHER CASE OF LEGAL KIDNAPPING.—An alleged fugitive slave, named Henry, claimed by Dr Duvall, of Prince George's Co., Md., was arrested at Columbia on Saturday and taken to Harrisburgh, where Commissioner McAllister consigned him to Slavery and pocketed the reward of his wickedness in so doing. This is the land of Penn! "How long, O Lord, how long?" —*Pa. Freeman.*

——IT is a singular fact, stated by the Washington *Union*, that both of the whig organs at Washington, have refused to publish, or in any way to notice, the noble Address of Kossuth to the American People, which some two weeks since we issued in our columns, and which, as published by us, has been circulated all over the country by the leading democratic presses, and hailed with enthusiasm by the democratic sentiment of the country.—*Post.*

——RHODE ISLAND.—The General Assembly of Rhode Island adjourned last Friday evening, after a session of four days at Kingston. The time of the Assembly was mainly occupied by private business.

The Commissioners on the Rhode Island and Massachusetts Boundary Line were ordered to make a full and accurate report of the situation of the controversy between the two States on the subject.

The bill for the total abolition of imprisonment for debt founded on contract, was passed in the Senate without a division, and for want of time, in the House, was continued to the next session.

——AN EXCELLENT RESOLUTION.—The following resolution has just been passed by the Board of Directors of New York and Erie Railroad:

Resolved, That all persons hereafter employed in running the trains on the road, be required to abstain entirely from the use of intoxicating drinks.

Such resolutions, passed and observed by all Railroad, Steamboat, and Packet Companies, would save many lives, and an untold amount of suffering.

——THE HAVANA PRISONERS.—The prisoners that yet remain at Havana are in tolerable condition, and supplied with good clothing and other comforts under the ministration of their only remaining and untiring friend Mr. Smith of the British consulate. Five are in the hospital improving, and nine are in the castle at the "Punta." It is not known at what moment transportation will be provided for them, or whether any more will meet with the clemency of the Captain General and be permitted to return to their homes.

The names of those now in confinement, are Ladislas Palanka, Hungarian; Henry Jasper, George Edgaroon, Mitchell Keenon, Mobile; Robert N. Breckenbridge, of Louisville, Kentucky; Ransom Beach, same residence; John Hohn Hodge; Richardson; Blumenthal, Prussian; James Fides, Senior Aragon, (Creole); Jose Bastionate, and one German and one Kentuckian whose name I have not been able to obtain.

——"ENGLAND TO AMERICA."—A complimentary dinner was given on the 5th inst., at the Astor House, by the British residents of New York, to Mr. Henry Grinnell and the officers of the Arctic expedition. Mr. Anthony Barclay, British Consul of this port, presided Mr. Cornelius Grinnell, son of Mr. Henry Grinnell, sat at the right of the chair; Commander Griffin, of the Rescue, the left. Dr. Kane sat to the right of Mr. Grinnell. Among the guests were Col. Gardner, U. S. Army, James W. Gerard, the Presidents and Vice Presidents of the various societies, Captain Stone, of the Niagara, the Recorder and others. The room was decorated with the flags of Great Britain and the United States, and a view of the Advance and Rescue sailing in the Arctic seas, surrounded with mountains of ice.

——METHOD OF CURING PRIZE HAMS.—The Hams of Maryland and Virginia have long enjoyed a wide celebrity. At the last exhibition of the Maryland State Agricultural Society, four premiums were awarded for Hams. We are informed by those who had the opportunity of examining them, that they were of first rate quality. The following are the recipes by which the hams were cured.—*American Farmer.*

T. E. Hamilton's Recipe.—First Premium.—To every 100 lb. pork take 8 lb. G. A. salt, 2 oz. saltpetre, 2 lb brown sugar, 1 1-2 oz. of potash, and four gallons of water. Mix the above, and pour the brine over the meat, after it has lain in the tub for some two days. Let the hams remain six weeks in brine, and then dried several days before smoking. I have generally had the meat rubbed with fine salt, when it is packed down. The meat should be perfectly cool before packing.

J. Green's Recipe.—Second Premium.—To 1,000 pounds of pork, take half a bushel and half a peck of salt, 3 pounds saltpetre, 3 pounds sugar, and 2 quarts of molasses. Mix—rub the bacon with it well; keep on for three weeks in all; at the end of nine days take out the hams, and put those which are at the top at the bottom.

R. Brooke, Jr.'s Recipe.—Third Premium.—One bushel of fine salt, half bushel ground alumn salt, one and a half pound to thousand lbs. pork, left to lie in pickle four weeks, hung up and smoked with hickory wood until the rind becomes a dark brown.

C. D. Slingluff's Recipe.—Fourth Premium.—To 100 lbs green hams take 8 lbs. G. A. salt, 2 lbs. brown sugar or molasses equivalent, 2 oz. saltpetre, 2 oz. pearl ashes, 4 gallons water, disolve well; skimming off the skum arising on the surface. Pack the hams compactly in a tight vessel or cask, rubbing the fleshy part with fine salt. In a day or two pour the above pickle over the meat, taking care to keep it covered with pickle. In four to six weeks, according to the size and weight of the hams, (that is to say, the longer period for heavy hams) hang up to smoke, hock up; smoking with green hickory wood. I have put up hams for the last 12 or 15 years by the above recipe with uniform success, equal at all times to the sample now presented.

——A WHITE WOMAN RELEASED FROM SLAVERY.—The Circuit Court of Rockingham County, Va., last week, after a trial that excited much interest, decided that Amanda Jane, who had been held as a slave ever since her birth, some 20 years ago, was a white woman, although her origin was distinctly traced to a negress, who was a slave. *The Register* says: "Amanda's appearance, the colour of her skin, her hair, her eyes, her nose, her whole physical exterior, would prove her to be what the Jury have made her—a white woman. The testimony proving her to be of negro extraction was of the strongest and clearest kind, and yet the appearance of the woman seemed to contradict it all. Amanda Jane has been held as a slave successively by Messrs. Michael Kiser, (whose negro slave Sally, her mother, was proved to be) T. McGahey, and was held in bondage at the time of the trial, by Mr. A. E. Heneberger. She has degraded herself in her servitude, and has become the mother of two fine looking little illegitimate children, perfectly white, who were dandled in her arms during the course of her trial. A more mysterious case we have never heard tried; and it excited, from its commencement to its close, the most intense interest. Exceptions have been taken to the decision of the case, by the counsel for the defendants."

——WORLD'S FAIR IN NEW YORK.—Edward Riddle and C. Buschek, American and Austrian Commissioners to the London Exhibition, publish a card over their own signatures in the London *Times*, calling on exhibitors to communicate with Messrs. Riddle & Buschek, on or before the 27th inst., with reference to getting up a second edition of the World's Fair at New York. Goods for exhibition will be conveyed from London in first-class vessels, and all charges, freight, insurance, &c., advanced, so that no outlay of money on the part of the exhibitors will be required. Goods will require to be in New York by the 15th of March, as the exhibition will open on the 1st of April, and will continue four months. The scheme looks very like a private speculation of the two Commissioners.

——MORE SECESSION.—It appears that the Judges, Secretary and Indian Agent appointed to Utah Territory, have been compelled to quit that part of the Union by the bad behaviour of Gov. Brigham Young, and are returning to the East, leaving their offices vacant. This looks like an unwillingness on the part of the Governor and the Mormons to keep faithfully the compromises of the Constitution, and there seems to be reason for the inference that they intend to secede from our glorious confederacy and set up for themselves.—*Tribune.*

——PRESENTATION TO THE CREWS OF THE AMERICAN ARCTIC EXPEDITION.—The medals subscribed for by the British residents of this city, were presented last week to the crews of the Advance and Rescue, on board the United States ship North Carolina, lying in the Navy Yard, Brooklyn. A large number of persons who were invited were present during the ceremony of presentation, as were also the sailors and officers of the North Carolina. Of the crews of the Advance and Rescue there were but the following in attendance: Edward Wilson, Smith Benjamin, Wm. Remsen, Wm. Holmes, Thomas West, Edward Delano, Charles Berry, Rufus C. Baggs, and Lewis Coster, Commander Griffin, of the Rescue, and Boatswain Brooks.

——FATHER MATHEW'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.—To the Citizens of the United States—Dearly Beloved Friends: My mission among you closes to-day. I cannot take my final departure from the shores of your great and prosperous country without publicly recording my deep and grateful appreciation of the generous sympathy, the delicate attention, and the unremitting kindness which I have experienced in every section of this vast Union. The noble reception which you have spontaneously tendered to a stranger, known merely as an humble missionary in the cause of moral reform, proves the devotion of your people to the interests of humanity, however feebly championed, and has endeared America and her people to me by a thousand ties too sacred for utterance. Though the renewed attacks of a painful and insidious malady have rendered it impossible that I could (without imminent danger to my life) make those public exertions which were never spared by me in the days of my health and of my vigour, I yet, thank Heaven, have been instrumental in adding to the ranks of temperance over 600,000 disciples in America. I have been much cheered, during the past week, by the receipt of letters from all parts of the States, bearing unimpeachable testimony to the strict fidelity with which this voluntary obligation is observed. I need scarcely add, that virtue, and the duties which religion inculcates, together with peace, plenty, domestic comfort, health, and happiness, have everywhere followed in its train. I cannot omit this opportunity of bearing my grateful testimony to the generous and valuable co-operation which I have received, in the prosecution of my mission, from the public press of America. Whatever may be the party or sectional differences that separate those influential expositors of public opinion, all recognised, in the simple principle which I enunciated, a common ground of paternal union; and acting in that Christian spirit have, with scarcely an exception, ever freely tendered freely their valuable support and advocacy to the cause of temperance, emphatically the cause of virtue, patriotism and morality. If the affectionate sympathy and kindness of the American people have at all times been generously extended to me during my tour, how much more intense has this noble feeling become as the period approached for my departure? How can I find language to thank the generous, the high-souled, the noble Henry Clay, my disinterested advocate, my dearly cherished friend? How can I express the measure of my obligation to the benevolent William Corcoran, of Washington? to the public spirited and philanthropic Henry Grinnell? to your merchant princes, Edward K. Collins and Robert Kermitt? to the amiable and gifted archbishop of New York, whose delicate and unremitting attention will never be forgotten by his honoured guest? to the host of kind friends in this City, in Philadelphia, Boston, Albany, New Orleans, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and through the Union, who have responded to Mr. Clay's appeal, and in their farewell present have furnished a memorial of gratitude and generosity too highly appreciated by the object of their sympathy and solicitude—too deeply engraven on his heart to be acknowledged in the hackneyed phrases sanctioned by conventional usage?

There are emotions of gratitude too intense for language to convey; were it otherwise, gladly would I attempt to give expression to my profound thanks to my gifted and amiable countrywoman, Miss Catherine Hayes. Never will I forget the sympathy felt by that noble-minded lady, or the spontaneous generosity (so characteristic of her Irish heart) which prompted her recent grateful and substantial compliment. Never will this noble act be forgotten by Father Mathew, and when his earthly pilgrimage is over, when his stewardship ceases, and he is called to a state of future existence, where even the envenomed shaft of the slanderer cannot reach, long may her honoured name be pronounced with gratitude and respect by the sons and daughters of that beauteous isle which she loves so well. To my own beloved countrymen I most affectionately tender a few words of parting advice. You have, my dearly beloved friends, relinquished the land of your birth, endeared to you by a thousand fond reminiscences, to seek on these distant shores that remuneration for industry and toil too often denied you at home. You are presented here with a boundless field of profitable employment, and every inducement held out to persevering industry. You are received and welcomed into the great American family with feelings of sympathy, kindness and friendship. After a few years you become citizens of this great Republic, whose vast territorial extent abounds in all the materials of mineral agriculture and commercial wealth; the avenues to honour and fame are liberally thrown open to you and to your children, and no impediment (save of your own creation) exists to prevent you attaining the highest social and civil distinction. And will you any longer permit those glorious opportunities to pass unimproved, or rather, will you not, by studying self-respect, and acquiring habits suited to your new position, aspire to reflect honour alike on the land of your birth and of your adoption? I implore you, as I would with my dying breath, to discard forever those foolish divisions—those insensate quarrels—those factious broils (too often, alas, the fruits of intemperance) in which your country is disgraced, the peace and order of society violated, and the laws of heaven trampled on and outraged. Oh, how painful is the contrast between the feelings which generate those foolish local animosities amongst the common inhabitants of a country, the entire area of which would but form an inconsiderable section of some of the larger States of this Union, and that broad and comprehensive spirit of patriotism which makes every inhabitant of this mighty Republic—from the Atlantic to the Pacific—from Maine to California—glory in the title of an American citizen.

Friends and fellow-countrymen—I now bid you a reluctant, a final farewell. A few hours more will separate me from the hospitable shores of America forever. I carry with me to "the poor old country," feelings of respect and attachment for its people, that neither time nor distance can obliterate. Citizens of the United States—I fervently pray that the Almighty Disposer of human events, in whose hands are the destinies of nations, may continue those blessings and favours which you have so long enjoyed—that your progress in every private and public virtue may keep pace with your unexampled prosperity—that you and your children's children may be ever true to the great destiny that awaits you, and to the spirit of those institutions under the fostering care of which you have so rapidly progressed. May your country still extend the hand of succour to the helpless exile, afford an asylum to the persecuted, and a home to the oppressed—and thus inseparably connect her future destiny with the interests of universal humanity.

Citizens of the United States, and beloved countrymen—again adieu! May heaven pour its choicest blessings on your favoured land, is the farewell prayer of

Your devoted and affectionate friend,
THEOBALD MATHEW.

——A WESTERN editor says that "a child was run over by a wagon three years old and cross-eyed, with pantalets on, which never *spo

Poetry.

[For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.]

THE FUGITIVE.

BY LUCY A. COLBY.

One thought, one feeling did inspire
The bondman's heart and brain,
To which each ardent hope, desire,
Each thought of fear and pain
Beside, were naught The quenchless fire
That long had smouldering lain

Had now burst forth; and Slavery
With all its iron bands
Was impotent; for Liberty
Released his fettered hands,
And pointed where he might *be free*,
Away in Northern lands.

Away through brier and brake and wood
He went with hurried pace,
Hoping, in that wild solitude,
To meet no human face;
For there were few would dare intrude
In such a dismal place.

Ah, many a sight and sound was there
The bravest to dismay!
The stinging insects everywhere
Were swarming round the way,
And, crouching in his gloomy lair,
The wild beast watched his prey.

All night amid the ghostly trees
Were heard strange murmurings,
And in the dark and poisoned breeze
The Vampyre flapped his wings,
Yet his stout heart quailed not at these,
They were but idle things.

And never did he think to pause,
Though by the stagnant lake
He saw the Caymen's horrid jaws
Gleam through the tangled brake—
Though in his very path, he saw
The foul, envenomed snake.

Through gloomy swamps and forests, he
His long, long way did wind;
At length, beneath a beechen tree,
The Fugitive reclined,
Rejoiced to think that Slavery
Lay many a league behind.

And now new joy his bosom fills,
The happy tears fall fast:
Thank God! the white Canadian hills
Gleam on his sight at last,
Sweet promise that his pains and ills
At length are overpast.

DANVERS, Mass., Oct. 25th, 1851.

MILTON ON HIS LOSS OF SIGHT.

[From the Oxford edition of Milton's works.]

I am old and blind!
Men point at me as smitten by God's frown;
Afflicted, and deserted of my kind,
Yet I am not cast down.

I am weak, yet strong;
I murmur not, that I no longer see;
Poor, old, and helpless, I the more belong,
Father supreme! to Thee.

O merciful One!
When men are farthest, then Thou art most near;
When friends pass by, my weakness to shun,
Thy chariot I hear.

Thy glorious face
Is leaning towards me, and its holy light
Shines in upon my lonely dwelling-place—
And there is no more night.

On my bended knees,
I recognise Thy purpose, clearly shown;
My vision thou hast dimmed, that I may see
Thyself, Thyself alone.

I have naught to fear;
This darkness is the shadow of Thy wing;
Beneath it I am almost sacred—here
Can come no evil thing.

Oh! I seem to stand
Trembling, where foot of mortal ne'er hath been,
Wrapped in the radiance from the sinless hand
Which eye hath never seen.

Visions come and go;
Shapes of resplendent beauty round me throng;
From angel lips I seem to hear the flow
Of soft and holy song.

It is nothing now;
When heaven is opening on my sightless eyes,
When airs from paradise refresh my brow,
The earth in darkness lies.

In a purer clime,
My being fills with rapture—waves of thought
Roll in upon my spirit—strains sublime
Break over me unsought.

Give me now my lyre!
I feel the stirring of a gift divine;
Within my bosom glows unearthly fire,
Lit by no skill of mine.

THE DOG CART.

BY WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

WHERE are the royal beagles, so high fed?
The grated cart shakes them from side to side,
Protruding with stretched neck the sweating tongue;
Open it; take them by the scuff, and toss
The creatures into kennel: let them bark
And stand upright against the bolted door
All day, and howl all night.

O Politics!
Can no man touch ye but his hand must stink
His whole life through? Must sound become unsound
In your enclosure? O, ye busy mites
That live within our cheese, and fatten there,
And seem its substance! must ye feel the keen
And searching air, and thus be swept away?
The scullery and sink receive ye, sent
Race after race; and yet ye will outlast
Sesostris and Osiris girded round
By guards of obelisks and pyramids;
Your generations numberless; your food
Man's corrupt nature, man's corroded heart,
Man's liquefied and unsubstantial brain.
Yea, while the world rolls on unfelt to roll,
There will be Greys and Russells round its core.
Divested of their marrow and their nerve,
Gigantic forms lie underneath our feet
Without our knowing it: we pass, repass,
And only stop (and then stop listlessly
Or idly curious) when some scient hand
Unearths and holds huge bones before our eyes,
And says "*Ye trampled them, silly Clowns,*
Now they may teach you somewhat; try to learn."
Meanwhile the meadow hums with insect sounds,
And gilded backs and wings o'ertop the grass:
These are sought after, these are prized and caged
In secret cabinet by regal hands.

THE CRUEL CARPENTER.

FROM THE GERMAN OF HEINE.

Lay, loved one! thy hand on this heart of mine!
Ah, hear'st thou that knocking within the shrine?
A cruel Carpenter dwells there, and he
Is busily making a coffin for me!

There's hammering and pounding by day and by night:
All sleep from my eyelids long since took flight,
Ah, master Carpenter, work thou fast,
That so I may slumber in peace at last.

—*Sartain's Magazine.*

Miscellany.

THE CATSKILL MOUNTAINS.

BY WASHINGTON IRVING.

[Published in *The Literary World* from a new work not yet issued from the press.]

THE Catskill, Katskill, or Cat River Mountains, derived their name, in the time of the Dutch domination, from the Catamounts by which they were infested; and which, with the bear, the wolf, and the deer, are still to be found in some of their most difficult recesses. The interior of these mountains is in the highest degree wild and romantic; here are rocky precipices mantled with primeval forests; deep gorges walled in by beetling cliffs, with torrents tumbling as it were from the sky; and savage glens rarely trodden excepting by the hunter. With all this internal rudeness, the aspect of these mountains towards the Hudson at times is eminently bland and beautiful, sloping down into a country softened by cultivation, and bearing much of the rich character of Italian scenery about the skirts of the Apennines.

The Catskills form an advanced post or lateral spur of the Great Alleganian or Appalachian system of mountains which sweeps through the interior of our continent, from southwest to northeast, from Alabama to the extremity of Maine, for nearly fourteen hundred miles, belting the whole of our original confederacy, and rivalling our great system of lakes in extent and grandeur. Its vast ramifications comprise a number of parallel chains and lateral groups; such as the Cumberland Mountains, the Blue Ridge, the Alleganies, the Delaware and Lehigh, the Highlands of the Hudson, the Green Mountains of Vermont, and the White Mountains of New Hampshire. In many of these vast ranges or sierras Nature still reigns in indomitable wildness; their rocky ridges, their rugged clefts and defiles, teem with magnificent vegetation. Here are locked up mighty forests that have never been invaded by the axe; deep umbrageous valleys where the virgin soil has never been outraged by the plough; bright streams flowing in untasked idleness, unburdened by commerce, unchecked by the mill-dam. This mountain zone is in fact the great poetical region of our country, resisting, like the tribes which once inhabited it, the taming hand of cultivation, and maintaining a hallowed ground for fancy and the muses. It is a magnificent and all-pervading feature, that might have given our country a name, and a poetical one, had not the all-controlling powers of common-place determined otherwise.

The Catskill Mountains, as I have observed, maintain all the internal wildness of the labyrinth of mountains with which they are connected. Their detached position, overlooking a wide lowland region, with the majestic Hudson rolling through it, has given them a distinct character, and rendered them at all times a rallying point for romance and fable. Much of the fanciful associations with which they have been clothed may be owing to their being peculiarly subject to those beautiful atmospherical effects which constitute one of the great charms of Hudson River scenery. To me they have ever been the fairy region of the Hudson. I speak, however, from early impressions, made in the happy days of boyhood, when all the world had a tinge of fairyland. I shall never forget my first view of these mountains. It was in the course of a voyage up the Hudson in the good old times before steamboats and railroads had driven all poetry and romance out of travel. A voyage up the Hudson in those days was equal to a voyage to Europe at present, and cost almost as much time; but we enjoyed the river then—we relished it as we did our wine, sip by sip, not, as at present, gulping all down at a draught without tasting it. My whole voyage up the Hudson was full of wonder and romance. I was a lively boy, somewhat imaginative, of easy faith, and prone to relish everything which partook of the marvellous. Among the passengers on the sloop was a veteran Indian trader, on his way to the lakes to traffic with the natives. He had discovered my propensity, and amused himself throughout the voyage by telling me Indian legends and grotesque stories about every noted place on the river, such as Spuyten Devil Creek, the Tappan Sea, the Devil's Dans-Kammer, and other hobgoblin places. The Catskill Mountains especially called forth a host of fanciful traditions. We were all day slowly tiding along in sight of them, so that he had full time to weave his whimsical narratives. In these mountains, he told me, according to Indian belief, was kept the great treasury of storm and sunshine for the region of the Hudson. An old squaw spirit had charge of it, who dwelt on the highest peak of the mountain. Here she kept Day and Night shut up in her wigwam, letting out only one of them at a time. She made new moons every month, and hung them up in the sky, cutting up the old ones into stars. The great Manitou, or master spirit, employed her to manufacture clouds; sometimes she wove them out of cobwebs, gossamers, and morning dew, and sent them off flake after flake, to float in the air and give light summer showers—sometimes she would brew up black thunder-storms, and send down drenching rains, to swell the streams and sweep everything away. He had many stories, also, about mischievous spirits who infested the mountains in the shape of animals, and played all kinds of pranks upon Indian hunters, decoying them into quagmires and morasses, or to the brinks of torrents and precipices. All these were doled out to me as I lay on the deck throughout a long summer's day, gazing upon these mountains, the ever-changing shapes and hues of which appeared to realize the magical influences in question. Sometimes they seemed to approach, at others to recede; during the heat of the day they almost melted into a sultry haze; as the day declined they deepened in tone; their summits were brightened by the last rays of the sun, and later in the evening their whole outline was printed in deep purple against an amber sky. As I beheld them thus shifting continually before my eye, and listened to the marvellous legends of the trader, a host of fanciful notions concerning them was conjured into my brain, which have haunted it ever since.

As to the Indian superstitions concerning the treasury of storms and sunshine, and the cloud-weaving spirits, they may have been suggested by the atmospherical phenomena of these mountains, the clouds which gather round their summits, and the thousand aerial effects which indicate the changes of weather over a great extent of country. They are epitomes of our variable climate, and are stamped with all its vicissitudes. And here let me say a word in favour of those vicissitudes, which are too often made the subject of exclusive repining. If they annoy us occasionally by changes from hot to cold, from wet to dry, they give us one of the most beautiful climates in the world. They give us the brilliant sunshine of the south of Europe with the fresh verdure of the north. They float our summer sky with clouds of gorgeous tints or fleecy whiteness, and send down cooling showers to refresh the panting earth and keep it green. Our seasons are all poetical; the phenomena of our heavens are full of sublimity and beauty. Winter with us has none of its proverbial gloom. It may have its howling winds, and thrilling frosts, and whirling snow-storms; but it has also its long intervals of cloudless sunshine, when the snow-clad earth gives redoubled brightness to the day; when at night the stars beam with intensest lustre, or the moon floods the whole landscape with her most limpid radiance; and then the joyous outbreak of our spring, bursting at once into leaf and blossom, redundant with vegetation, and vociferous with life! and the splendours of our summer—its morning voluptousness and evening glory—its airy palaces of sun-gilt clouds piled up in a deep azure sky; and its gusts of tempest of almost tropical grandeur, when the forked lightning and the bellowing thunder volley from the battlements of heaven and shake the sultry atmosphere—and the sublime melancholy of our autumn, magnificent in its decay, withering down the pomp and pride of a woodland country, yet reflecting back from its yellow forests the golden serenity of the sky—surely we may say that in our climate "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth forth his handiwork: day unto day uttereth speech; and night unto night showeth knowledge."

A word more concerning the Catskills. It is not the Indians only to whom they have been a kind of wonder-land. In the early times of the Dutch dynasty we find them themes of golden speculation among even the sages of New Amsterdam. During the administration of Wilhelmus Kieft there was a meeting between the Director of the New Netherlands and the chiefs of the Mohawk nation to conclude a treaty of peace. On this occasion the Director was accompanied by Mynheer Adriaen Van der Donk, Doctor of Laws, and subsequently historian of the colony. The Indian chiefs, as usual, painted and decorated themselves on the ceremony. One of them in so doing made use of a pigment, the weight and shining appearance of which attracted the notice of Kieft and his learned companion, who suspected it to be ore. They procured a lump of it, and took it back with them to New Amsterdam. Here it was submitted to the inspection of Iohannes De la Montagne, an eminent Huguenot doctor of medicine, one of the counsellors of the New Netherlands. The supposed ore was forthwith put in a crucible and assayed, and to the great exultation of the junto yielded two pieces of gold, worth about three guilders. This golden discovery was kept a profound secret. As soon as the treaty of peace was adjusted with the Mohawks, William Kieft sent a trusty officer and a party of men under guidance of an Indian, who undertook to conduct them to the place where the ore had been found. We have no account of this gold-hunting expedition, nor of its whereabouts, excepting that it was somewhere on the Catskill Mountains. The exploring party brought back a bucketful of ore. Like the former specimen it was submitted to the crucible of De la Montagne, and was equally productive of gold. All this we have on the authority of Doctor Van der Donk, who was an eye-witness of the process and its result, and records the whole in his Description of the New Netherlands.

William Kieft now dispatched a confidential agent, one Arent Corsen, to convey a sackful of the precious ore to Holland. Corsen embarked at New Haven in a British vessel bound to England, whence he was to cross to Rotterdam. The ship set sail about Christmas, but never reached her port. All on board perished.

In 1647, when the redoubtable Petrus Stuyvesant took command of the New Netherlands, William Kieft embarked, on his return to Holland, provided with further specimens of the Catskill Mountain ore; from which he doubtless indulged golden anticipations. A similar fate attended him with that which had befallen his agent. The ship in which he had embarked was cast away, and he and his treasure were swallowed in the waves.

Here closes the golden legend of the Catskills; but another one of similar import succeeds. In 1649, about two years after the shipwreck of Wilhelmus Kieft, there was again rumour of precious metals in these mountains. Mynheer Brant Arent Van Slechtenhorst, agent of the Patroon of Rensselaerswyck, had purchased in behalf of the Patroon a tract of the Catskill lands, and leased it out in farms. A Dutch lass in the household of one of the farmers found one day a glittering substance, which, on being examined, was pronounced silver ore. Brant Van Slechtenhorst forthwith sent his son from Rensselaerswyck to explore the mountains in quest of the supposed mines. The young man put up in the farmer's house, which had been erected on the margin of a mountain stream. Scarcely was he housed when a furious storm burst forth on the mountains. The thunders rolled, the lightnings flashed, the rain came down in cataracts; the stream was suddenly swollen to a furious torrent thirty feet deep; the farm-house and all its contents were swept away, and it was only by dint of excellent swimming that young Slechtenhorst saved his own life and the lives of his horses. Shortly after this a feud broke out between Peter Stuyvesant and the Patroon of Rensselaerswyck on account of the right and title to the Catskill Mountains, in the course of which the elder Slechtenhorst was taken captive by the Potentate of the New Netherlands, and thrown into prison at New Amsterdam.

We have met with no record of any further attempt to get at the treasures of the Catskill; adventurers may have been discouraged by the ill luck which appeared to attend all who meddled with them, as if they were under the guardian keeping of the same spirits or goblins who once haunted the mountains and ruled over the weather.

That gold and silver ore was actually procured from these mountains in days of yore, we have historical evidence to prove, and the recorded word of Adriaen Van der Donk, a man of weight, who was an eye-witness. If gold and silver were once to be found there, they must be there at present. It remains to be seen, in these gold-hunting days, whether the quest will be renewed, and some daring adventurer, fired with a true Californian spirit, will penetrate the mysteries of these mountains and open a golden region on the borders of the Hudson.

DR. KRAITZIR ON LANGUAGE.

THE *Evening Post* gives the followng report of a lecture, preliminary to a course on Philology, delivered recently at the Springler Institute, by Dr. Kraitzir, a well-known German philologist:

Dr. Kraitzir's introductory lecture on Language, delivered last evening at the Springler Institute, was well attended, and listened to throughout with the greatest interest. As the lecturer frequently referred to alphabetical charts in illustration of his subject, it is impossible to give more than a synopsis of his remarks. He commenced by speaking of the connexion that existed between the organs of speech, the material world, and the mind of man. The material world, he said, acts upon the mind, and makes impressions; and these impressions become ideas, which are expressed by organs of speech. This is the first point: the second is, how language originated—whether it was given to man after he had existed for some time without it, or whether it was inherent.

Language is divided into three parts, the lexical parts, relating simply to the words; the grammatical relating to the connexion between the different parts of speech; and euphony, a something added to please the ear. For instance, the French admire a nasal twang, and pronounce the word *sentiment* sontemong, which may sound harsh or pleasing to different ears, but is not the less euphony. After treating of euphony, said Dr. Kraitzir, I will consider the classification of languages. Language, he continued, gives us a clearer idea of the progress made by nations, and their habits of thought, than any monuments they could leave behind them. Some have passed away and left no mementoes, save their language, impressed on lake or rive, plain or mountain. So has it been with the aborigines of this continent; their language preserves their memory; their names remain, save where some scholar, ambitious of displaying his classic lore, brings Troy, Rome and Carthage from the shores of the old world to the interior of the new.

There was a period when language was ante-historical, when men spoke before they wrote or built, and this brings us back to the mythological age, the age of fable and legend—an age of which we have no relic save that best and most indestructible one, its language. The use that can be made of that has been shown by Niebuhr.

The lecturer referred to and explained the tables which served to illustrate the lecture. These contained the Roman alphabet, the Anglo-Saxon, the Teutonic, Runic or Icelandic, the Sanscrit, and others. The vowels or vocalised sounds, labials, gutturals and lingua-dentals, liquids, and compound letters, held their usual positions in the alphabet, but were printed in different colours.

As for the names of the English alphabet, said Dr. K., they are the greatest impediment to learning that can be conceived. The C is mispronounced, and the J is never found in any ancient language. Such a sound was totally unknown. Who ever heard of Joseph? there was no such man, and Jupiter never existed. Yoseph and Yupiter are the proper pronunciation. All words beginning with the letter Y convey an idea of strength, as youth, &c. He next spoke of the letter W, and the difficulties it presents to foreigners in the acquisition of the English language; of the letter X, and its different sounds, as in Alexander and execute, in the first of which it has the sound of K S, and in the second that of G Z. Thus it is found to have four different sounds.

Having gone over these letters, I may be asked what do they mean? and the answer, which sounds somewhat paradoxical at first, is simply, they mean what they mean, neither more nor less. The greatest truths are the simplest, and they require no demonstration—they appeal to common sense—they are comprehended intuitively—they are their own best interpreters, and after all that may be said in explanation, we wind up with the conclusive "so it is;" namely the natural, original roots, before having been arbitrarily misapplied, signify just what the organs of speech, by which they are uttered, signify in the harmony of the quality of things to be designated, of their conceptions in our mind, and of the geometical, physical, and physiological qualities and relations of the respective organs. Thus, *long* is the same with *lingua*, *tongue*, *lick*, *link*, *line*, *log*, *lignum*; German, *legen*; Latin, *ligo*, *loquor*; Greek, *logos*, &c.—all these words being symbolized by the qualities and functions of the *tongue*. The four letters (L, M, N, R) refer to liquids, not only metaphorically, but really, actually; they are the initials of words that relate to water, or express the quality of moving or flowing, peculiar to liquids, as *motion*, *maritime*, *nautical*, *liquid*, *leaf*, *race*, *run*, *road*, *Rhone*.

If children were taught that they had organs of speech, and that each of these had different functions, how much more rapidly would education progress. But are they ever told so? Not at all. They know they have nails and teeth, but the organs of speech they never hear of; they know what dentist means, but they know nothing of dentals. How inconsistent! If a person is about to learn the piano, flute, &c., he is first taught the different notes, their names, their positions, their powers, but of the magnificent instrument on which language is performed he knows absolutely nothing; its use is never hinted at, and its very name seems prohibited. Yet the character of a people is impressed upon their language, and their progress depends upon it in a great measure.

Instead of beginning with the organs of speech, we begin with the alphabet; and of all the impediments ever invented to obstruct the acquisition of learning, the English so called spelling is the most perfect. The pupil is told to look upon these arbitrary signs, and call them A, B, C; he is never told how many sounds there are in English; he is never told that C is sometimes, only, pronounced like S; no, it is always S. And where does he find this sound in *cats*? There is no such letter as C or J; they are modern barbarisms, as named. There is no such old sound, either, as *ch* in *churches*; the original word is *kyriakos*, which signifies of the Lord, that is, house of the Lord, which became *kyriak* and *kirk*; but how it became church it is difficult to conjecture.

Then, as for that compound sound, the letter W, that stumbling-block to a foreigner—what does it mean? Double U! Why it is more likely to double him, for he can make nothing of it. You laugh at Germans because they say *vine*, *vater*; but what can they know of it, when it forms no part of their language? There is no language perfect; each has its defects. Germans, for instance, like the sound of *pf*. You say *penny*; but they must have their sound, and they accordingly call it *pfennig*. This is ugly; but you need not laugh at the German: it is a noble, manly, intellectual language; and there are sounds in English which rival it in uglinese. What do you think of *smash*, *squash*? The lecturer enumerated the different languages spoken in Europe and Asia, leaving out the peculiar monosyllabic language, the Chinese, and its dialects; mentioned the affinity between the Hungarian language and that spoken by the American Indians. No class of men, said he, in conclusion, have done so much injury to language as scholars. Johnson went very far towards destroying the pure old Anglo-Saxon by latinizing it, and other learned men followed his example. The low, common people, the uneducated, do more to preserve the purity of the language than all the scholars in the world; and they pronounce it best, for they cling to the ancient pronunciation. You smile at the Irishman when he says *baste*, but this is the correct pronunciation, for there is no such sound in the word as *bee*, consequently our pronunciation of the word beast thus *beest*, is wrong.

After some further remarks on the peculiarities of pronunciation, Dr. Kraitzir concluded by stating that he intended to give a course of twelve lectures upon language, in which its organic laws, and their practical results, would be comprehensively treated. This would depend, however, in a great measure, upon the encouragement he might receive. A ticket for the course, he said, would be five dollars; but if he did not dispose of a sufficient number, he would be compelled to abandon his intention.

CHARLES LAMB AT THE INDIA HOUSE.

"But first let me describe my brief introductory call upon him at the India House. I had been told that he was never to be found at home except in the evenings; and to have called then would have been in a manner, forcing myself upon his hospitalities. and at a moment when he might have confidential friends about him; besides that, he was sometimes tempted away to the theatres. I went, therefore, to the India House; made inquiries amongst the servants; and, after some trouble (for *that* was early in his Leadenhall street career, and, possibly, he was not much known), I was shown into a small room, or else a small section of a large one (thirty-four years affects one's remembrance of some circumstances), in which was a very lofty writing-desk, separated by a still higher railing from that part of the floor on which the profane—the laity, like myself—were allowed to approach the *clerus*, or clerkly rulers of the room. Within the railing sat, to the best of my remembrance, six quill-driving gentlemen; not gentlemen whose duty or profession it was merely to drive the quill, but who were then driving it—*gens de plume*, such *in esse*, as well as *in posse*—in act as well as habit; for, as if they supposed me a spy, sent by some superior power, to report upon the situation of affairs as surprised by me, they were all too profoundly immersed in their oriental studies to have any sense of my presence. Consequently, I was reduced to a necessity of announcing myself and my errand. I walked, therefore, into one of the two open doorways of the railing, and stood closely by the high stool of him who occupied the first place within the little aisle. I touched his arm, by way of recalling him from his lofty Leadenhall speculations to this sublunary world; and presenting my letter, asked if that gentlemen (pointing to the address) were really a citizen of the present room; for I had been repeatedly misled, by the directions given me, into wrong rooms. The gentleman smiled; it was a smile not to be forgotten. This was Lamb. And here occurred a *very, very* little incident—one of those which pass so fugitively that they are gone and hurrying away into Lethe almost before your attention can have arrested them; but it was an incident which, to me, who happened to notice it, served to express the courtesy and delicate consideration of Lamb's manners. The seat upon which he sat was a very high one; so absurdly high, by the way, that I can imagine no possible use or sense in such an altitude, unless it were to restrain the occupant from playing truant at the fire, by opposing Alpine difficulties to his descent.

"Whatever might be the original purpose of this aspiring seat, one serious dilemma arose from it, and this it was which gave the occasion to Lamb's act of courtesy. Somewhere there is an anecdote, meant to illustrate the ultra-obsequiousness of the man: either I have heard of it in connexion with some actual man known to myself, or it is told in a book of some historical coxcomb—that, being on horseback, and meeting some person or other whom it seemed advisable to flatter, he actually dismounted, in order to pay his court by a more ceremonious bow. In Russia, as we all know, this was, at one time, upon meeting any of the Imperial family, an act of legal necessity; and there, accordingly, but there only, it would have worn no ludicrous aspect. Now, in this situation of Lamb's, the act of descending from his throne, a very elaborate process, with steps and stages analogous to those on horseback—of slipping your right foot out of the stirrup, throwing your leg over the crupper, &c.—was, to all intents and purposes, the same thing as dismounting from a great elephant of a horse. Therefore it both was, and was felt to be by Lamb, supremely ludicrous. On the other hand, to have sate still and stately upon this aerial station, to have bowed condescendingly from this altitude, would have been—not ludicrous indeed; performed by a very superb person, and supported by a very superb bow, it might have been vastly fine, and even terrifying to many young gentlemen under sixteen; but it would have had an air of ungentlemanly assumption. Between these extremes, therefore, Lamb had to choose; between appearing ridiculous himself for a moment, by going through a ridiculous evolution, which no man could execute with grace; or, on the other hand, appearing lofty and assuming, in a degree which his truly humble nature (for he was the humblest of men in the pretensions which he put forward for himself) must have shrunk from with horror. Nobody who knew Lamb can doubt how the problem was solved: he began to dismount instantly; and, as it happened that the very first *round* of his descent obliged him to turn his back upon me as if for a sudden purpose of flight, he had an excuse for laughing; which he did heartily—saying, at the same time, something to this effect, that I must not judge from first appearances; that he should revolve upon me; that he was not going to fly; and other facetiæ, which challenged a general laugh from the clerical brotherhood.

"When he had reached the basis of terra firma on which I was standing, naturally, as a mode of thanking him for his courtesy, I presented my hand which, in a general case, I should certainly not have done; for I cherished, in an ultra-English degree, the English custom (a wise custom) of bowing in frigid silence on a first introduction to a stranger; but, to a man of literary talent, and one who had just practised so much kindness in my favour at so probable a hazard to himself of being laughed at for his pains, I could not maintain that frosty reserve. Lamb took my hand; did not absolutely reject it, but rather repelled my advance by his manner. This, however, long afterwards I found was only a habit derived from his too great sensitiveness to the variety of people's feelings, which run through a gamut so infinite of degrees and modes as to make it unsafe for any man who respects himself to be too hasty in his allowances of familiarity. Lamb had, as he was entitled to have, a high self-respect; and me he probably suspected (as a young Oxonian) of some aristocratic tendencies. The letter of introduction, containing (I imagine) no matters of business, was speedily run through; and I instantly received an invitation to spend the evening with him. Lamb was not one of those who catch at the chance of escaping from a bore by fixing some distant day, when accidents (in duplicate proportion, perhaps, to the number of intervening days) may have carried you away from the place; he sought to benefit by no luck of that kind; for he was, with his limited income—and I say it deliberately—positively the most hospitable man I have known in this world. That night, the same night, I was to come and spend the evening with him. I had gone to the India House with the express purpose of accepting whatever invitation he should give me; and, therefore, I accepted this, took my leave, and left Lamb in the act of resuming his aerial position."—*From de Quincy's Literary Reminiscences.*

INACCURACIES OF LANGUAGE.

[From an article on "English Synonyms" in the September number of *Fraser's Magazine*.]

As for this famous word *talented*, the radical objection to it is so obvious, that we need not trouble the reader with a learned dissertation on the subject. It is unnecessary for the purpose of exposing its illegitimacy to dissect a word which has a substantive for its basis, and is turned all at once into an adjective, without any other alteration than the affix of a termination, which is the sign of the past participle of a verb! The process is as curious as it is complicated; and the individual by whom it was originally conceived must have been a person preeminently distinguished either by the most daring ingenuity, or unconscious ignorance. We may fairly contend that custom is endowed with no royal privilege to commit freaks of this kind; if it were, language would not be safe for four-and-twenty hours from the inroads of clever or uneducated people, who, for the gratification of singularities in their tastes, or because they did not know better, would engraft all sorts of fantastical eccentricities upon the pure vernacular. The inadmissibility of a formation so repugnant to our usage will become evident by trying a similar experiment upon other words of the same class. If we consent to the grammatical discord of saying a "*talented* man," instead of a "man of talent," there can be no reason why we should not say, a "*tacted* man," instead of a "man of tact," or a "*geniused* man," instead of a "man of genius." The absurdity may be pushed a little farther by heightening the expression in rigid accordance with the precedent before us: thus, as it is commonly said that such a person is a "*very talented* man," so we may say that he is a "*very tacted* man," or a "*very geniused* man." All this, no doubt, looks ridiculous and puerile, but the cases are strictly parallel; and people who consider themselves justified in employing vicious terms, must submit to the logical consequences that ensue upon their use. The speaker or writer who talks of "highly *talented* men," cannot offer a syllable of objection to his neighbour who chooses to describe them as "remarkably *geniused* individuals."

In point of structure, the word *talented* is clearly a participle. We have no instances of adjectives formed in that way; and for homogeneous words we must look exclusively to the table of verbs, where alone we shall find them—such words as *accredited*, *hunted*; the correspondence in these instances being in all respects complete. Now if we were to treat *talented* as a particle (which a foreigner, at first sight, would be justified in doing by one of the earliest rules he picks up in our grammar), could anything be more ludicrous than the effect it would produce? Imagine such a sentence as this: "A has just been speaking to me about our friend B; he *talented* him to the skies!" If ridicule be not a legitimate test of truth, it may assuredly be admitted as a very efficient test of the proprieties of language.

A catalogue *raisonnee* of the inelegancies and inaccuracies that have crept into common use would supply a fund of amusing and uncomfortable speculations for the living generation—not that we are worse in this particular than our progenitors, but that, in proportion to our opportunities, we ought to be much better. Nothing is more frequent in conversation than to hear the word *farther* confounded with *further*, and *latter* with *later*, although the distinction between them is wide and unmistakeable,—*farther* having application to place and distance, and *further* to quantity or addition; and while *later* refers to time, and *latter* to place only. In the same way you sometimes catch the phrase "seldom or ever," the speaker evidently meaning "seldom if ever;" and the still more palpable impropriety of "the two *first*," instead of "the *first* two." Such slips of speech as "see *if* they're gone," instead of "*whether* they're gone," and "I *had* rather," instead of "I *would* rather," are of constant occurrence. A still more flagrant violation of verbal correctness is committed by the misuse of the very common phrase *as well as*, which means exactly what it says, and no more; but which is perpetually employed to express something else;—thus: "she is witty *as well as* handsome," whereby we are to understand that "she is witty and handsome *also*." This subject is fruitful of bizarre attractions for the ripe scholar who has leisure and inclination to cultivate it; but for our present purpose it is enough to indicate the negligence and errors which it is the express business of the educated classes to expunge and correct.

*Instances of these common errors might be collected in abundance amongst writers of the highest reputation. We must content ourselves with a single example. The following lines are taken from one of the most popular of Moore's Irish Melodies:

"I know not, I ask not *if* guilt's in that heart;
But I know that I love thee, whatever thou art."

It should obviously run thus:

"I know not, nor ask whether guilt's in that heart,"
&c.

We shall be told that this is very petty criticism; and it would be very pretty if it were criticism; but it is not criticism,—it is simply the correction of a trifling negligence belonging to a class which, if permitted to pass unnoticed, would spread with rapidity, till it infected the language like a leprosy.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

THE Honour of Knighthood has been offered to Mr. Paxton, to Mr. Cubitt, the engineer, and to Mr. Fox, the contractor of the Crystal Palace.

——A. M. MONTHEULIN, of Paris, lately deceased, has left a legacy of £400 to any person who shall invent the means of guiding balloons in a straight line.

——MRS. SHERWOOD, the authoress, died rather suddenly at her residence, Yelverton-place, Twickenham, recently, in the 77th year of her age.

——METTERNICH, it is said, is writing his biography, and a history of the Austrian Court, which is not to be opened till sixty years after his death.

——SINGULAR CIRCUMSTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.—A balloon, of the kind furnished to the "Erebus" before she left England, descended on Sunday in the garden of a lady living at Wotton Lodge, near Gloucester. It has been examined by the Admiralty officers, and is declared by them to be a Government balloon. Attached to the car was a card bearing the following inscription: "Erebus, 112 W. Long. 71 deg. N. Lat. September 3d, 1851. Blocked in."

——A WRITER in the current number of the *Westminster Review* expresses, from experimental knowledge, his incredulity as to the strength of the maternal instinct in the lower animals. "This instinct," he says, "is no doubt a very amiable and charming thing; very self-sacrificing; delightful to contemplate. But we confess we have never seen it proof against a shot in the hinder parts, nor, indeed, do we believe it can be. The larger monkeys certainly carry off their wounded whenever it is possible; but we have heard with pain from the natives, assertions which, we must confess, throw strong suspicions on the purity and disinterestedness of their motives. The natives assert that they carry off their dead; or if they are wounded, at once amiably put them out of pain, cover them over with leaves, and let them lie so, like the babes of the wood, for some days; but that when they consider that their deceased friends have become sufficiently tender, they assemble and enjoy the epicurean feast; and that all their apparent sensibility really arises from their *liking their monkey a little high*."

——THE WIDOW OF THE ETTRICK SHEPHERD.—Every one must be gratified with the mark of respect shown to the talents of our countryman, Professor Wilson, the celebrated Christopher North of *Blackwood's Magazine*, by the recent bestowal of a pension on him by her majesty. It is not, however, generally known that the widow of the Ettrick Shepherd has had but very slender means of support since the death of her husband, and that these means have been still further reduced by the expenses consequent upon the education of her family, so that her income, of late years, irrespective of sources on which she could not rely, and of which in part she had been deprived, has been quite inadequate for her comfortable support. We believe that this requires only to be known in the right quarter to be remedied; and we trust that Scotland, which has been so often taunted with having allowed her great national poet, Burns, to starve, will not be reproached also with having neglected the family of him who has always been considered Burns's most eminent successor.—*Edinburgh Advertiser.*

——THE BAKER POET OF NISMES.—In Nismes dwells the baker Reboul, who writes the most charming poems; whoever may not chance to know him from these, is, however, well acquainted with him through "Lamartine's Journey to the East," I found him at the house, stepped into the bakehouse, and addressed myself to a man in shirt sleeves who was putting bread into the oven; it was Reboul himself! A noble countenance which expressed a manly character greeted me. When I mentioned my name, he was courteous enough to say he was acquainted with it through the "Revue de Paris," and begged me to visit him in the afternoon, when he should be able to entertain me better. When I came again I found him in a little room which might be called almost elegant, adorned with pictures, casts and books, not alone French literature, but translations of the Greek classics. A picture on the wall represented his celebrated poem, "The Dying Child," from Marmier's "*Chansons du Nord*." He knew I had treated the same subject, and I told him this was written in my school days. If in the morning I had found him the industrious baker, he was now the poet completely; he spoke with animation of the literature of his country, and expressed a wish to see the north, the scenery and intellectual life of which seemed to interest him. With great respect I took leave of a man whom the muses have not meanly endowed, and who yet has good sense enough, spite of all the homage paid him, to remain steadfast to his honest business, and prefer being the most remarkable baker in Nismes to losing himself in Paris, after a short triumph, among hundreds of other poets.—*Hans Andersen's Life.*

——POLITICAL LIFE IN NEW YORK.—Go into politics, I suppose! A nice business that for an honest man and a gentleman! Why, the democracy of our State, who are always in fear of being reduced to vassalage by a few thousand easy and unambitious rich men, have lost their liberties without perceiving it to hundreds of thousands of alien settlers with their foreign priests. A successful politician here is either a huck lawyer of thirty years' standing, who has had opportunity enough of getting used to the devil's work in his first business, or an upstart demagogue, who has made his way by dint of sheer brass; either a blind partizan, who knows nothing outside of "the regular ticket," or a "non-committal" man, who says everything to everybody, and never gave an intelligible, manly, straightforward opinion in his life. One party would sell us body and soul to the slaveholders, and the other to the anti-renters, and both to the Irish. If I could bring myself to enter the lists with such people, I should have to start with the dead weight of being a "millionaire" (as they call every man here who has two or three hundred thousand dollars) and an "aristocrat" (as they call every man who has the habits and education of a gentleman). There is not a voter in this country has less influence than I have; to be sure, I don't try for any, because I well know that by doing so, I should only make myself more unpopular, without becoming any more influential. Or be a leader of fashion, perhaps—one of those people who talk scandal about one another all day long when they are not dancing, who try to pursue pleasure in a place where every one else is at work, and are so destitute of resources, that they quarrel for pure want of something to do. See what they have made of my brother, who is a clever fellow and a well-educated man, though I say it. He is becoming a third-rate dancer—one of Tom Edwards's *corps*; is growing frivolous and scandalous, and getting his earnest honesty knocked out of him every day. Or profess literature, possibly—Henry does a little of that too: you may see him in the magazines sandwiched between the last learned cobbler and the newest Laura Matilda of the West. No, I don't want to belong to any "Mutual Admiration" Society, and if I did, it's too late now. My mind has been spoken so often and so freely, that were I to write a book as good as one of Fennimore Cooper's (if you can imagine the possibility of a thing even in hypothesis), no editor would notice it, and no one read it—unless it contained something personal. Here I shall stay and amuse myself in what one of our ex-great men used to call "dignified retiracy," and if this railroad dries me out, why, then, *ingens iter ahimus æquor*—to England, were I a bachelor, but my wife couldn't live there; no American women can, after the attention she has been used to at home, except the ambassador's wife—so it will probably be to Italy, or perhaps to Paris, for a man can find occupation there, whatever be his peculiar bent, and fill up his time well in the place without knowing or liking the people.—*Fraser's Magazine.*

——MEMOIRS OF ALEXANDER DUMAS.—This popular and copious romancer is about to publish his own "memoir." The Paris correspondent of the *Literary Gazette* thinks the chances are that the work will be one of the most brilliant of the kind that has yet been published; and that is saying a great deal, when we call to mind the immense host of